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Grillparzer as a poet

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GRILLPARZER AS A POET OF
NATURE

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GRILLPARZER AS A POET OF NATURE

BY
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NOTE

Mr. De Walsh's careful study of a neglected phase of Grillparzer's poetic *Eigenart* seems to me a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the great Austrian dramatist.

CALVIN THOMAS.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
June, 1910.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
CARL TRAUGOTT KREYER, PH.D., LL.D.
Counsellor to the Imperial Chinese Embassy, Rome, Italy
WITH THE AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE OF
THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

The present study grew out of a paper written for the Germanic Seminar in Columbia University conducted by Professor Calvin Thomas. I feel greatly indebted to this scholar for his invaluable assistance and encouragement, and it affords me pleasure to have the opportunity of thanking Professor Thomas in this place for his much appreciated guidance and help.

I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professors William H. Carpenter, Hervey, Tombo and Remy for their contribution to my training as a student of Germanic languages and literatures.

The service of Mr. Ludwig Lewisohn, A.M., who read the proof, is gratefully acknowledged.

F. C. D.

NEW YORK CITY,
June, 1910.

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INTRODUCTION

GRILLPARZER'S SENSITIVENESS TO ASPECTS OF NATURE

When, on November 10, 1859, the University of Leipzig conferred upon Franz Grillparzer the degree of doctor of philosophy, Professor Heinrich Wuttke, the speaker upon this solemn occasion, the centenary of Schiller's birth, expressed the hope, referring to Grillparzer, that "posterity would be more just to him than his contemporaries had been." Wuttke's sympathetic wish, which has reference to the inadequate recognition of Grillparzer's dramatic genius, has since been abundantly fulfilled. Grillparzer's fame as a dramatist is now firmly established, and the ever-increasing Grillparzer-literature now forms a fair-sized library. A Grillparzer Jahrbuch, begun in 1890, is already a veritable encyclopedia of information concerning the poet and his works; and the Grillparzer bibliography in Vol. VIII of Goedeke's *Grundriss* fills 143 closely printed octavo pages.

In all this mass of literature, however, there is very little relating to Grillparzer's poetry of nature, although his plays fairly teem with passages that are interesting to the student of that subject. I find only one brief article of seven pages, published by Adolf Foglar in 1897,¹ which deals with Grillparzer's relation to nature, but it contains only little information and represents a mere suggestion without leading to any definite conclusion. Foglar quotes a number of passages from Grillparzer's diaries (*Reise nach Italien; Orientreise; Reise durch Deutschland,*) in which the poet recorded his impressions of nature, and then he goes on to show that Grillparzer's description of nature is at its best when his intense patriotism blends with his poetry. For this purpose, Foglar quotes from *Ottokar*, and this is the only reference made to Grillparzer's plays. The subsequent pages of the

¹ *Literarisches Jahrbuch des deutschen Schulvereins*, 1897, pp. 84-91.

article make brief mention of a few of Grillparzer's lyric poems, and, in conclusion, the author emphasizes the influence exerted by nature upon the poet's musical ear.

The general neglect of Grillparzer as a poet of nature is, after all, not very surprising, since that is not the important aspect of his work. He is one of the foremost dramatists in German literature, and this fact accounts for the small importance of his lyric verse, in which we should naturally look for his message, if he had one, as a poet of nature. With the great lyrists of his own epoch—Eichendorff, Heine, Uhland—Grillparzer had little in common. "Die starke Quelle seiner Dramatik," says R. M. Meyer,² "überschwemmte die Beete der Lyrik. War *ein* Mann zum Dramatiker geboren, so war es Franz Grillparzer."

If I have undertaken in this study, notwithstanding what has been said, to treat minutely and elaborately of Grillparzer as a poet of nature, it is not because I desire to claim a place for him as a great poet of nature, or to show that he had any peculiar or highly important message to deliver, but because I wish to throw light on Grillparzer's *Eigenart* as a poetic dramatist. Individual traits of great poets are of considerable importance for the understanding of the man as well as of the artist, and it is necessary to have as clear a conception as possible of the various characteristic influences which are at work in the development of genius. It is for this reason that I regard my work, which deals, as has been admitted, with a minor phase of Grillparzer's art, as a contribution to the general characterization of the great dramatist and of the man.

As a matter of fact, Grillparzer was throughout his long life very sensitive to out-of-door impressions, and the total reaction of nature upon him colors his dramatic work to a greater extent than has been supposed. Also his diaries and letters contain frequent references to such personal impressions. For present purposes I quote three passages from the poet's diaries and one from his letters, which show that Grillparzer was keenly alive to the wonders of nature; that he

²*Die deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Berlin, 1900. Vol. I, p. 84.

ascribed to nature an important influence upon his soul-life and upon his imagination; that he liked to commune with nature; and, finally, that his sensitiveness to aspects of nature stayed with him to the end of his days. In 1808, Grillparzer writes:³

Nothing is more capable of arousing love, or (according to circumstances) sexual passion within me, than a beautiful evening in the open air, especially when the moon shines. On a fair morning I feel quite different: I am inspired and lifted above all passion. I do not believe that I could see the sun rise, on some fair morning, while my heart is harboring vindictive or voluptuous thoughts.

In 1809, he describes the influence of nature upon his imagination thus:⁴

There is a peculiar charm for me in the observation of the clouds, when I take a walk in the evening. My imagination endows them with the weirdest shapes, and if these have no definite significance, I imagine at least the blue sky as the ocean, and the masses of clouds, scattered hither and thither, as islands. There I build huts; there I dwell with my sweetheart, and so on.

The influence of nature upon his imagination was as strong in 1852⁵ as in 1809:

A strange thing happened to me to-day: I walked about, dreaming. I had risen early and taken water from the chalybeate spring, then a bath, and another glass of water, and now I was walking in the park. Suddenly, I came to a part of the park where I had never yet set foot. It was so beautiful, and the groups of trees were so charming, that I could not understand how this part had escaped my attention to this day. Unfortunately, there were no benches, while every place was an invitation to sit down.

Only a few years before his death, Grillparzer wrote Katharina Fröhlich from Teplitz, June 17, 1865:⁶

Only the park with its magnificent trees and fairly green lawns (the comfortable benches should not be forgotten), has entirely charmed me. Here I have been sitting for hours, in spite of very cold weather, with a book, and with wide-open eyes, as is my habit.

³ *Briefe und Tagebücher*, II, p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 259.

Numerous passages in the *Tagebücher*, some of which will be discussed later, indicate that, as traveler, Grillparzer was keenly alive to natural beauty. It may be, as Foglar says, that he "never traveled for pleasure's sake, or only to see a beautiful country," but certain it is that he was never indifferent to the beauty that came in his way. A dull landscape gave him a sense of oppression. Hence he could say, regarding his trip to Germany in 1826:⁷ "If I were to follow my innermost inclinations, I should return at once, and journey home again. Nature, in these regions, is not sufficiently attractive, and the people make me uncomfortable."

Interesting conclusions regarding Grillparzer's personal sensitiveness to aspects of nature may be drawn from many passages, in prose and verse, which deal with the reaction of nature on the human soul. Two points come into consideration here: the transitory effect of nature reflected in *Stimmung*, and the permanent effect of natural environment reflected in the character of man. In May, 1836, Grillparzer stood in admiration amidst the attractions of the park of Versailles, and with a vivid recollection of what he had seen, he wrote in his diary, the same evening:⁸ "What a park! In all my life I have seen nothing more beautiful. Shall I here admire nature or art? The sun shone warm, the trodden grass filled the air with fragrance, and the heavens were evidently of a deeper blue than in our country. *I smote my breast. I was like a child. Everything so beautiful, so fair.*" We should not be misled here by the question: "Shall I admire nature or art?" It is true that the poet was deeply impressed with the beauty of the two trianons. He calls them the "pearls of the park," but he turns back to nature immediately, and his thirsty soul drinks in the splendor of sun, sky, and flowers. His mood changes. The beauty of nature takes him back to the happiest stage of life—childhood. There is innocence and naïve ecstasy in the words: "I smote my breast. I was like a child."

But nature's message was not always joyful. When he took leave of the sea, at Terracina, in June, 1819, a melancholy

⁷ The Roman numbers in the footnotes refer to the Cotta edition in XX vols. XX, p. 27.

⁸ XX, p. 94.

sensation seized upon him. It seemed as if the sea were aware of the esteem in which he held it, and so it cunningly donned its fairest appearance:⁹ "In Terracina I enjoyed, for the last time on this journey, the sight of the sea. It had arrayed itself most beautifully, and lay there in the splendor of heavenly blue, with the intention, perhaps, to oppress my heart. Sadly, I took leave of the poetic element which combines, in such magic manner, formidableness and sweetness of disposition."

The beneficent relief brought by a thunder-shower is beautifully expressed by Drahomira:¹⁰

Es fühlt das Aug', es fühlt der Busen sich erweitert
Und giebt sich hin dem Andrang der Natur,
Und aller Sinne leicht erregter Chor,
Gleich schwer Belagerten, die kurz zuvor
Der Feinde Drang mit Furcht und Graus umfassen,
Sie öffnen jauchzend jedes Thor,
Den siegenden Befreier zu empfangen.

References to the influence of natural environment upon the formation of character are not infrequent. When Jason believes Medea to be inaccessible, his heart is filled with hatred for Kolchis:¹¹

Sein rauher Hauch
Vertrocknete die schönste Himmelsblume,
Die je im Garten blühte der Natur;

and Kreon, to whom the inflexible character of Medea and Gora is incomprehensible, blames Kolchis also, when he calls both women¹²

Das Bild des dunkeln Landes, das sie zeugte.

When Primislaus confides to Libussa his plan to found a city, she fears that the walls of this city, separating man from nature, will have an ill effect upon the character of man. Primislaus admits that communion with nature is necessary for the human heart:¹³

⁹ XIX, p. 241.

¹¹ V, p. 93.

¹² VIII, p. 202.

¹⁰ XI, p. 116.

¹³ V, p. 183.

Gemeinschaft mit den wandellosen Dingen,
 Sie ladet ein zum Fühlen und Geniessen.
 Man geht nicht rückwärts, lebt man mit dem All;

but his progressive ambition is not satisfied with this alone;
 he insists upon carrying out his project, because:¹⁴

Doch vorwärts schreiten, denken, schaffen, wirken
 Gewinnt nach innen Raum, wenn eng der äussre.

While Primislaus is right from his point of view, Libussa's words of warning contain, perhaps, a good deal of the personal inclination of the poet himself who, a child of the city, was strongly drawn to idyllic country-life. At the same time, we feel the presence of the shadow of Rousseau in this contrast between civilization and nature.

The sympathetic character of Melitta is also, to a considerable extent at least, the result of early natural environment. Her sunny disposition, her cheerfulness, her tender heart, her lack of selfishness, and her virginal purity, are traceable back to the country which she called home, before Sappho purchased her from some slave-trader. Time has cast a veil over Melitta's memory, but this veil is not so thick as to obscure entirely the maiden's recollection: the name of her native country has escaped her mind, but its natural surroundings have left such a deep impression in her soul, that she is able to speak of them to Phaon:¹⁵

Nur seine *Blumen*, seine *Thäler* hat
 Behalten das Gedächtnis, nicht den Namen.
 Nur glaub' ich, lag es, wo die *Sonne herkömmt*,
 Denn dort war alles gar so licht und hell.

Not only individual but national character is attributed by Grillparzer to natural environment, and it appears that his comprehension of national character is greatly assisted by his study of local nature. On his way to Greece, he passed through the fertile country of the Hungarians, and the wealth of nature, with which he was here confronted, explained to him a part of Hungarian national character which he was hitherto unable to understand. In his diary one finds the

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ IV, p. 104.

following significant words:¹⁶ "One understands the high aspirations of the Hungarians, upon seeing their country. I am somewhat reconciled with their superlatives. The sun goes down, and sets water and air on fire. The young moon comes into prominence. . . . An indescribable charm lay over the country."

All biographers of Grillparzer trace the poet's musical talent, as well as his inclination toward melancholy, back to his mother, while his keen intellectual power is generally regarded as his paternal heritage. So far as Grillparzer's love for nature may be attributed to pre-natal influence, it appears that both parents transmitted an equal share to their offspring. In his Autobiography, Grillparzer describes his father as follows:¹⁷ "His outward manner appeared somewhat cold and harsh; he avoided all company, *but he was a passionate friend of nature*. To work, at first in his own, later in a rented garden, and to grow flowers of all kinds, constituted almost his only source of pleasure."

So far as Grillparzer's fine interpretation of the musical element in nature is concerned, attention need here be called only to the fact that he is, just as for his musical gift, indebted to his mother also for this phase of his nature-poetry.

Enough has been said, I think, to show in a general way that the man Grillparzer was a lover of nature. He was both observant and impressionable; and the suggestions that he caught entered into and colored the texture of his plays. To show in some detail the nature of these manifold reactions of the outer world upon his mind and art, is the purpose of this study. First, however, by way of orientation, let us make a cursory survey of the earlier history of the poetry of nature.

¹⁶ XX, p. 152.

¹⁷ XIX, p. 11.

I

GENERAL ORIENTATION

The nature-feeling of the modern man, whether poet or not, is to a large extent the product of his reading. We have come to look upon nature with the eyes of our poets, without whose works the outer world would not react on us as it does. It is obvious, then, that our feeling for nature is largely a matter of literary tradition. If, therefore, we set out to study the *Eigenart* of a particular poet, we need to know the tradition which he inherited, in order to do him justice, and in order to avoid the danger of thinking him new, original, or peculiar, when in reality he only voices sentiments which have often before been expressed by others. It is the purpose of the present orientation to classify and illustrate the principal reactions in the history of nature-poetry, and thus to establish, from the outset, those traditions from which Grillparzer drew in his own attempt to describe and interpret the external world. The treatment of this subject must necessarily be cursory, and it is done, without much claim to originality, mainly on the basis of Biese's thorough work,¹ while, for individual poets or epochs, Batt,² Geo. Brandes,³ Butcher,⁴ Danton,⁵ Diez,⁶ Fairclough,⁷ De Laprade,⁸ Motz,⁹ Reynolds,¹⁰ Rundström,¹¹ Schmidt,¹² and Shairp¹³ have been consulted.

¹ Biese, A., *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen*, Kiel, 1882, and *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, Leipzig, 1892.

² Batt, Max, *The Treatment of Nature in German Literature from Günther to the Appearance of Goethe's Werther*, Chicago, 1902.

³ *Die Hauptströmungen der Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 6 vols., Leipzig, 1897.

⁴ Butcher, S. H., *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, London, 1904.

⁵ Danton, G. H., *The Nature Sense in the Writings of Ludwig Tieck*, New York, 1907.

⁶ Diez, Friedr., *Die Poesie der Troubadours*, Zwickau, 1826.

⁷ Fairclough, H. R., *The Attitude of the Greek Tragedians toward Nature*, Toronto, 1897.

⁸ De Laprade, V., *Le sentiment de la nature chez les modernes*, Paris, 1870.

⁹ Motz, H., *Über die Empfindung der Naturschönheit bei den Alten*, Leipzig, 1865.

¹⁰ Reynolds, Myra, *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth*, Chicago, 1896.

¹¹ Rundström, Erich, *Das Naturgefühl J. J. Rousseaus*, Königsberg, 1907.

¹² Schmidt, Erich, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, Jena, 1875.

¹³ Shairp, J. C., *On Poetic Interpretation of Nature*, New York, 1877.

If poetry in general is the lofty expression of individual soul-life, nature-poetry in particular reflects the attitude of an entire epoch toward visible phenomena. These various epochs in the history of nature-poetry are characterized by individual reactions which, however, as Biese points out,¹⁴ do not lead to any diametrical contrast between ancient and modern nature-sense, but show only gradual differences.

It might seem, perhaps, as if the possible reactions of the human soul upon the external world were too numerous, too elusive, and too much intermixed, to permit of any classification whatever. And from the point of view of exact science this may be true. If, however, we are content to use the word nature somewhat loosely, in its usual literary sense, and to consider only those reactions which have played a somewhat important rôle in poetry, then the problem does not seem so hopeless. The reactions fall under a comparatively few heads or types, which it is possible to discriminate, not indeed with ideal scientific accuracy, but well enough to serve a useful purpose in literary discussion. The principal varieties appear to be as follows:

I. THE PRIMITIVE OR ANIMAL REACTION, which expresses the pleasure or displeasure that we feel—with children, savages and the lower animals—according as nature is physically agreeable or disagreeable, useful or harmful. The warm sun is appreciated, if the weather is cold; the cool shade, if it is hot; the refreshing spring is sought; the luscious fruit joyfully gathered; and the fertile fields viewed with happy feelings; while, on the other hand, storm, thunder, lightning, volcanic eruptions, etc., inspire fear as well as awe. This is the attitude of Homer toward nature. At his time, the influence of mythological concepts and ideals was of extreme importance, so that it is not surprising to find that it enters largely into his portraiture of nature. Since the gods were uppermost in public interest, an independent and subjective nature-poetry could hardly take root. This, however, does not mean that Homer's epics show no true appreciation of nature's beauties;

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

on the contrary, the theory expounded by Gervinus,¹⁵ Otfried Müller,¹⁶ Becker,¹⁷ and even Schiller¹⁸ (to the effect that Greek nature-sense, if it existed at all, was of a very inferior order), has been completely overthrown by Biese, who points out that there is an abundance of passages in Homer which establish the fact that the poet was keenly alive to nature's aspects. While this Homeric appreciation of nature appears naïve and simple, it is genuine and free from affectation. It is difficult to choose from the numerous passages which bear evidence of Homer's feeling for nature. However, the passage which is quoted below is a fair illustration of the naïve expression of awe and terror which the raging elements, mythologically personified, inspired in the heart of primitive man:¹⁹

ὥς εἰπὼν σίναγεν νεφέλας, ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον
 χερσὶ τρίαῖναν ἑλών· πάσας δ' ὀρόθηνεν ἀέλλας
 παντοίων ἀνέμων, σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψεν
 γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον· ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ.
 σὺν δ' Εὐρώς τε Νότος τ' ἔπεσον Ζέφυρός τε δυσαῖς
 καὶ Βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων.

2. THE DEVOUT REACTION, which reveals a feeling of admiration or awe in the presence of nature conceived as the handiwork of a personal God. Such is, in the main, the character of Hebrew nature-poetry, all of which reflects the monotheistic idea. For the Hebrew, nature is not an end per se, but only a means to an end, the end being Jehovah. Thus the psalmist:²⁰

When I consider *Thy* heavens, the work of *Thy* fingers, the moon and the stars, which *Thou* hast ordained; What is man, that *Thou* art mindful of him? . . .

It cannot be said that the ancient Hebrew was unappreciative of the beauty of nature, or that rigid asceticism smothered within his heart the typically human *joie de vivre*: he loved

¹⁵ *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 113.

¹⁶ *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*, p. 468.

¹⁷ *Charikles*, I, p. 219.

¹⁸ *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, ed. Cotta, XII, p. 187.

¹⁹ *Odyssey*, V, 291-296.

²⁰ *Psalm VIII*, 3, 4.

to gaze at the stars, and to watch the birds; the grandeur of the sea inspired him with awe, and the bright sunshine filled him with delight. However, he forgot at no time to associate with his realistic enjoyment the ideal which, in his opinion, is the source of it all. Whether we may speak of an actual appreciation and enjoyment of nature under such circumstances, is perhaps doubtful, for it is difficult to imagine that an individual who is constantly endeavoring to locate the source of a pleasure feels as keen an enjoyment as he whose entire nervous sensitiveness is thrilled with the actual realisation of a pleasurable experience, and who has, consequently, no thought of the cause of his sensation.

It is interesting to observe that it is not only nature's bounty which suggests to the Hebrew the thought of God, but that the same suggestion comes to him as he drags his tired body over the hot sands of the desert, and as he is near death from want of water. Even under such circumstances, when cursing and disbelieving would be quite intelligible from a human point of view, the weak body is subdued by the mind concentrated upon God. So in Psalm LXVII, where David sings:

O God, Thou art my God; early will I seek Thee: my soul thirsteth for Thee, my flesh longeth for Thee in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is; . . .

An appreciation of nature apart from Jehovah and his worship is therefore not to be expected from this people whose characteristic attitude the psalmist sums up as follows:²¹

Be Thou exalted, O God, above the heavens; let Thy glory be above all the earth.

3. THE EROTIC REACTION, that is, the effect produced by the spring-time (nature's pairing-time), with its flowers, birds and sunshine, with its suggestion of sexual love and of erotic images. This reaction is reflected in the nature-poetry of the troubadours and minnesingers, a nature-poetry where nature is the means and love the end. Bernart de Ventadorn, for example, tells us that his love for his sweetheart is never so deep as in spring; he takes a naïve delight in the natural beauty

²¹ *Psalm LXVIII.*

which surrounds him, but he does not describe this beauty at length. Using a few terms, such as grass, foliage, blossoms, and nightingale, he hastens on as it were to his subject proper, viz., love. The lines quoted below form the beginning of the poem, and the inference lies near that nature was looked upon as the most fitting background for love and as a good introduction to the subject.

Quant l'erba fresqu' e.l fuelha par
E la flors botona el verian,
E.l rossinhols autet e clar
Leva sa votz e mon son chan,
Joy ai de luy e ioy ai de la flor
E ioy de me e de mi dous maior;²²

The poet is ready to express his appreciation of nature, but nature cannot inspire him as much as love; love stands higher in his esteem than nature, and nature as such is not his theme, as the following lines naively admit:

Dans totas partz suy de ioy claus e sens,
Mas sel (i. e., love) es ioys que totz autres ioys vens.²³

What Diez says²⁴ about the nature-poetry of the troubadours, is equally true of the minnesingers, Walther von der Vogelweide not excepted. The greatest lyric poet of the Middle Ages deliberately turns his back on nature and worships at the shrine of woman. So in his well-known spring-song:

Wir lāzen alle bluomen stān und kapfen an das werde wip.

It is true that, in this poem, Walther expresses Bernart's thought in more poetic language, but the fundamental idea remains the same: woman is looked upon as the ideal, and nature is subordinated. This is, therefore, not a description of nature for nature's sake.

4. THE SPIRITISTIC REACTION, showing how nature was con-

²² Appel, *Provensalische Chrestomathie*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 58.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Diez, F., *Die Poesie der Troubadours*, Zwickau, 1826, p. 123: "The green of the meadows and trees, the scent of flowers, the radiance of the sun, the song of the birds, form the sole material for the description of nature, and not once has this material been used for painting a small, clear picture, but all appears in confusion and is, in reality, barely mentioned."

ceived as a source of mysterious oracles, voices, messages (the echo, the wind, the murmuring stream, etc.), which speak to man with a more or less definite meaning and show interest in his affairs. This reaction is largely represented by the nature-poetry of the Renaissance. What the troubadours and minnesingers were unable to accomplish on account of their lack of critical consciousness, that was now made possible through the resurrection of ancient ideals. The appreciation of nature's sympathetic message and appeals to her for assistance are not new: the three classical dramatists of antiquity—Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides—eloquently express their consciousness of nature's sympathetic power. In Sophocles' *Philoctetes* nature sympathetically replies through the mouth of the echo to Philoctetes, who is left alone with the wild beasts of the forest, alone with his misery and with nature. This incipient demand of sympathy and compassion brought man and nature closer together, and gave rise, at the same time, to a longing for harmonious union with nature, the prerequisite for which is solitude. Passages which express the longing for solitude are not infrequent in the works of the dramatic trio, and Euripides' melancholy language is often so strikingly modern, especially because of the sentimental element which it contains and which induces Butcher²⁵ to refer to Euripides as "the fore-runner of modern romanticism," that one is often reminded of recent poetry. It is quite natural, therefore, if on reading Creusa's words in *Ion* (line 796):

O for wings to cleave the liquid air beyond the land of Hellas,
Away to the Western stars, so keen the anguish of my soul!

Schiller's familiar words suggest themselves:²⁶

Eilende Wolken, Segler der Lüfte!
Wer mit euch wanderte, mit euch schiffte!

It is true that Greek nature-poetry lacked the conception of nature and God as one, and the profound mysticism of the Romantic School, but it should not be overlooked that there is keen and genuine appreciation of nature expressed through

²⁵ *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, p. 295.

²⁶ *Maria Stuart*, III, 1.

vivid description which gradually assumed a consciously subjective and strongly emotional character.

Renaissance nature-poetry appears at its best in landscape-paintings which are of a more individual and subjective type even than those of the Hellenic Age. The solitude of nature is now consciously sought and enjoyed, and there arises a sentimental and melancholy nature-poetry characterized by a fondness for ruins and graves, which has its foundation in the memory of ancient legends and of ancient history.

In the original sense of the term, Petrarch is a minnesinger, because he is preëminently a poet of love. But while Walther von der Vogelweide regards nature only as an intermediary, Petrarch forms so close an association of the concepts nature and love, that they merge into one another. In the solitude of nature he converses with his beloved Laura; in nature he seeks and finds solace when he becomes aware that there will never be any response to his love; and nature, finally, stays his suicidal hand. Even after Laura's death, Petrarch finds in nature the needed friend who mourns with him, who comforts and sustains him:²⁷

Per alti monti e per selva aspre trovo
Qualche riposo; ogni abitato loco
E nemico mortal degli occhi miei.
A ciascun passo nasce un pensier novo
Della mia donna, che sorente in gioco
Gira'l tormento ch'i' porto per lei.

The great nature-poet of the Renaissance is Shakespeare, whose work abundantly illustrates all the types of nature-feeling hitherto considered. So true is this, and so well-known, that quotation appears unnecessary. Indeed it would be a bold thesis to maintain that there is any type of nature-feeling known to the modern man which is not expressed, or at least adumbrated, somewhere in the works of Shakespeare.

A nature-poetry such as Shakespeare's can be compared only with most recent productions in this field, and even then it must be emphasized that but very few poets come into con-

²⁷ *Canzone*, XIII.

sideration as his competitors, perhaps only Goethe, Byron and Shelley.²⁸

5. THE ANTI-SOCIAL OR MISANTHROPIC REACTION, showing the conception of nature as a safe refuge from man's inconstancy, from the vice and corruption of the city, from the evils of civilization, and from the cruelty and injustice of human society. As I have already observed, a phase of this feeling is found in the Greek poetry of solitude. One is also reminded of Horace and his Sabine farm, remote from the badness of the Roman *civium prava iuventium*. We often meet it also in Shakespeare, more especially perhaps in his romantic comedies. Take for example these verses from *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.²⁹

How use doth breed a habit in a man !
The shadowy desert, unfrequented woods,
I better brook than flourishing peopled towns ;
Here can I sit alone, unseen of any,
And, to the nightingale's complaining notes,
Tune my distresses and record my woes.

In the eighteenth century, however, the feeling comes into literature in a more intense form, expressing not so much a pure love of nature or of solitude as a passionate aversion to the works and ways of the civilized man. The herald of this new feeling—so far as it is new—was Jean Jacques Rousseau who was, to some extent at least, indebted to England. Upon his return from his idyllic sojourn at Chambéry and Les Charmettes, he studied zealously the descriptive nature-poetry of Pope, Thomson and Young, but his inborn love for nature carried him far beyond any of his predecessors. For Rousseau there was no happiness without nature: life in Paris, with all the attractions which civilization and culture could offer was loathsome to him. In the *Ermitage*, near Montmorency, to which he had fled, he felt at home, surrounded by living forms of his own imagination. Rousseau's important position in the history of nature-poetry is due to the fact that he sees in nature the primeval and universal Good which the badness of man had debased. It is true that Rousseau's standpoint is still

²⁸ Biese, p. 224.

²⁹ Act V, Sc. 4.

theistic, in so far as God is proclaimed as nature's creator, but we find here, nevertheless, the beginning of a pantheistic idealization of nature, which culminates in Goethe. Atheism is incomprehensible to Rousseau, for the very reason that all nature represents to him a grand revelation of God. Those who live amidst the wonders of nature cannot be without faith: "Je comprends comment les habitants des villes qui ne voient que des murs, des rues et des crimes, ont peu de foi; mais je ne puis comprendre comment des campagnards, et surtout des solitaires, peuvent n'en point avoir."⁸⁰ Rundström⁸¹ well characterises the difference between Rousseau and the theists, by pointing out that Rousseau needs no demonstration of God, since he knows that God exists. Expressed in other words, this means that, to the theist, God represents an idea; to Rousseau, however, God is a fact. And this fact is always before him, always within his reach: nature reveals the god-head.

The exalted rank which Rousseau assigns to nature makes a nature-worship possible, and nature-worship presupposes intimate association with nature. Hence Rousseau's constant desire which, when granted, is the cause of "inexpressible rapture," to "s'identifier avec la nature entière."⁸² Only in solitude is he able thoroughly to appreciate the grandeur of nature, because only when absolutely undisturbed is it possible for him to concentrate his thoughts upon so lofty a subject. Thus he flees civilization and turns to nature, and when the last obstacle between himself and God is removed, he kneels in adoration in the temple which the Lord has erected for Himself: "Je n'ai jamais aimé à prier dans la chambre; il me semble que les murs et tous ces petits ouvrages des hommes s'interposent entre Dieu et moi. J'aime à le contempler dans ses oeuvres tandis que mon coeur s'élève à lui."⁸³

It must not be overlooked that Rousseau was a true son of his century, "whose very nature-sense does not fail to reveal the foundation of a morbid disposition which may be analyzed as *Weltschmerz*, *Weltflucht*, misanthropy, or melancholia."⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Rousseau, ed. Hachette, IX, p. 72. ⁸¹ P. 56.

⁸² Rousseau, IX, p. 376.

⁸³ Rousseau, VIII, p. 169.

⁸⁴ Biese, p. 358.

Rousseau changed the direction of the current of nature-poetry, but it remained for Goethe to change the current itself. This new current is

6. THE PANTHEISTIC REACTION, representing the identification of nature with the godhead. Nature is conceived as omnipresent divinity speaking to the human soul, not with separate and localized voices, but as a totality.

In the inimitable scene where Gretchen appears so sweetly and naively concerned in guiding her lover back to the path of orthodox catholicism, Faust relieves her tender anxiety by dwelling at length upon his religious feeling; and so convincing is the expression of his pantheism, so close is the adaptation of his own lofty ideas to the unconsciously narrow boundaries of Margaret's religious tolerance, that she is forced to admit: "Ungefähr sagt das der Pfarrer auch." The passage in question is so well-known that it may suffice to quote its last summarizing lines:

Erfüll' davon dein Herz, so gross es ist,
Und wenn du ganz in dem Gefühle selig bist,
Nenn' es dann, wie du willst,
Nenn's Glück! Herz! Liebe! Gott!
Ich habe keinen Namen
Dafür! *Gefühl ist alles;*
Name ist Schall und Rauch,
Umnebelnd Himmelsglut.

Special emphasis must here be placed upon the words *Gefühl ist alles*, for therein consists the very essence of the youthful Goethe's message. For Goethe life is feeling, and feeling comes through nature, so that direct communion with nature becomes a necessity for human existence. That is the reason why Goethe, as Robert Saitschick puts it,²⁵ "could grasp only that philosophy which establishes and intensifies our inborn feeling that we are one with nature; a philosophy which transforms this feeling into profound and calm contemplation, in whose perpetual syncrisis and diacrisis we recognise a godly life." That is why all the works of Goethe bear the stamp of that vitality which can only spring from real life and from nature.

²⁵ *Goethes Charakter*, Stuttgart, 1898, p. 119.

As for the *Naturschwärmerei* of Werther, it has been so well analyzed by Laprade,³⁶ Erich Schmidt³⁷ and Biese,³⁸ that any further attempt in that direction appears useless. A remark may be made, however, on the difference between Werther and the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. While in Rousseau's work nature occupies a secondary position, serving the purpose of a suitable background, Goethe connects nature directly with every impulse and act of young Werther, and he drops entirely the contrast between civilization and nature which is so strongly emphasized by Rousseau. On the other hand, with Goethe nature no longer appears as the reflection of the godhead, but as God Himself. Conventionality and unnatural affection, in short all that may be gathered together in the one term *Zopf*, is entirely foreign to Werther. Like Rousseau, Werther is passionately fond of solitude, but he is not a misanthrope. He speaks to nature, and nature replies. He feels nature as love. There exist between nature and Werther unbreakable bonds of sympathy which lead to the well-defined reflex action: "Wie die Natur sich zum Herbste neigt, wird es Herbst in mir und um mich her. Meine Blätter werden gelb, und schon sind die Blätter der benachbarten Bäume abgefallen."³⁹ Biese justly remarks⁴⁰ that Werther's feeling for nature rests upon the foundation of poetic pantheism.

There remains only a word to be said here with regard to the evolution of the interpretation of nature within Goethe himself. I borrow for this purpose the language of R. M. Meyer,⁴¹ who so clearly defines the various stages: "For the illusionist Werther, nature was the sacred, pure, world-foreign and inaccessible maiden; for the maturing disciple of Charlotte von Stein, the all-providing, all-loving, indefatigable mother; for the author of *Tasso* and *Iphigenia*, the ruling all-powerful queen; for the poet in old age, the only adorable goddess:

Werde jeder bessere Sinn
Dir zum Dienst erbötig!
Jungfrau, Mutter, Königin,
Göttin, bleibe gnädig!

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 323, 336, 346.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 380 ff.

³⁸ P. 387.

³⁹ *Op. Cit.*, pp. 173 ff.

⁴⁰ Ed. Hempel, XIV, p. 83.

⁴¹ *Goethe*, p. 576.

7. THE ROMANTIC REACTION, consisting of two distinct currents: (a) the largely sentimental feeling for nature shown especially by the older members of the Romantic School and well exemplified in Stolberg's

Süsse, heilige Natur,
Lass mich gehn auf deiner Spur,

and (b) the feeling of wild delight in nature's destructive and terrible aspects, such as the storm at sea, the cyclone in the woods.

Music and nature are the passions of Romanticism, and, of the earlier Romantic poets, Tieck and Novalis best reveal the truth of such a statement. Grillparzer, as an interpreter of the musical element in nature, is greatly indebted to the Romantic School, and there is many a passage in Grillparzer's sympathetic nature-poetry which reminds one vividly of such words as those uttered by Tieck's *Franz Sternbald*:

Ich möchte die ganze Welt mit Liebesgesängen durchströmen,
den Mondschrimer und die Morgenröte anrühren, dass sie mein
Leid und Glück wiederklingen, dass die Melodie Bäume, Zweige,
Blätter und Gräser ergreife, damit alle spielend meinen Gesang wie
mit Millionen Zungen wiederholen müssten.

What I have called the second phase of the romantic reaction is illustrated in a well-known passage of *Faust*:

Und wenn der Sturm im Walde braust und knarrt,
Die Riesenfichte stürzend Nachbaräste
Und Nachbarstämme quetschend nieder streift,
Und ihrem Fall dumpf hohl der Hügel donnert;
Dann führst du mich zur sichern Höhle, zeigst
Mich dann mir selbst, und meiner eignen Brust
Geheime tiefe Wunder öffnen sich.

Among the English Romanticists who were contemporary with Grillparzer, this feeling is expressed most frequently by Lord Byron. The following passages from *Childe Harold* are characteristic:

Dear Nature is the kindest mother still,
Though always changing, in her aspect mild;
From her bare bosom let me take my fill,

Her never-wean'd, though not her favour'd child.
 Oh! She is fairest in her features wild,
 Where nothing polish'd dares pollute her path;
 To me by day or night she ever smiled,
 Though I have marked her when none other hath,
 And sought her more and more, and loved her best in wrath."^a

And then, *Canto* III, 92, 93:

The sky is changed!—and such a change! O night,
 And storm, and darkness, ye are wondrous strong,
 Yet lovely in your strength, as in the light
 Of a dark eye in woman! Far along,
 From peak to peak, the rattling crags among,
 Leaps the live thunder! Not from one lone cloud,
 But every mountain now hath found a tongue,
 And Jura answers through her misty shroud,
 Back to the joyous Alps, who call to her aloud!

And this is in the night:—Most glorious Night!
 Thou wert not sent for slumber! Let me be
 A sharer in thy fierce and far delight,—
 A portion of the tempest and of thee! . . .

^a *Canto*, II, 37.

II

GRILLPARZER'S DESCRIPTION OF NATURE

In his description of nature Grillparzer often animadverts on the relation between nature and man. Both nature and man, the "king of creation," are subject to law and order, and neither nature nor man exists without purpose. Nature, however, is subject to her own laws which man, also, must obey. This law of nature surrounds man like an invisible net from which there is no escape, and the transgression of which means death and destruction. Man is well aware of the existence of this law, but he is unable to comprehend it, for in spite of all the knowledge he boasts, he is a king without sceptre: he sits upon the throne of creation, but nature rules. In the poem of 1842 *Wie viel weisst du, o Mensch, der Schöpfung König*,¹ Grillparzer sets forth this idea with considerable sarcasm. But this is not the only place where one may find a recognition of the exalted position of nature, mingled with sarcastic, pessimistic reflections on the physical and mental imperfections of man. So, for example, in the poem *Pflanzenwelt*,² the poet shows that nature, conscious of her purpose, follows gladly the outlined paths, and is satisfied with her lot, while man—shiftless and malcontent—might learn a valuable lesson from trees and flowers. A melancholy note is sounded in the poem *Im Gewächshaus*,³ where Grillparzer laments the brevity of human life, in contrast with the permanency of nature:

Aloe! Aloe!
Blühest so schön.
Aber nur einmal in Menschengedenken.
Aloe!
Wir leben nur eines,
Ein einziges Menschengedenken.
Wenn die erste Blüte vorüber,

¹ II, p. 55.

² I, p. 175.

³ *Ibid.*

Aloe, Aloe!

Wo Zeit für die zweite?

Nature is looked upon by Grillparzer as perfect, while man is imperfect; nature is permanent, man is transitory; nature follows and reaches her aim, man wavers, stumbles and falls. Man is in need of nature's assistance and sympathy, and both are granted him: nature loves man (the relation between the two is that of parent to child), and man returns this love. Gradually, as his appreciation and gratitude mature, he sinks into nature's wide-open arms, finding comfort and compassion. In unity with nature man finds strength, and by conforming to her laws, he may be able to increase his vitality. Hence the confident words of Rudolf in the *Bruderszwist*.⁴

Mein Haus wird bleiben immerdar . . .
 . . . weil es, einig mit dem Geist des All,
 Durch Klug und scheinbar Unklug, rasch und zögernd,
 Den Gang nachahmt der ewigen Natur, . . .

Turning now from the general to the particular, let us first take up the poetry of the seasons. Naturally Spring plays the most important rôle. The arrival of spring is beautifully described in a poem by that title.⁵ The cries of the cuckoo herald the approach of the fairest season of the year, and by means of a play upon the word *Kukuck*, which the poet changes to *Guck, guck!*, the birds' surprise and pleasure are cleverly drawn. The melting snow is likened to white draperies, which a servant now proceeds to remove from the furniture in the house, while another attendant is busy spreading magnificent rugs, for which the blossoming trees have furnished the material. This exquisite picture, over which the golden gate-keeper (the sun) is pouring floods of light, is made alive—like fine scenery on a modern stage by the sweet notes of a well-trained voice—by the clever little orchestra of nature which always plays in harmony, even if no rehearsals have been held. Slowly, and with dignity, the stranger now approaches, and while the orchestra is playing a joyous tune of welcome, while sweet little flowers are crowding both sides of the path over which he must come, while all nature rejoices

⁴ IX, p. 67.

⁵ *Frühlingskommen*, I, p. 210.

in anxious anticipation, the king now takes possession of his kingdom. The heart of the poet is touched: the universal rejoicing communicates itself to his muse, and thus spring is also for him a source of blessing: new life and new vigor follow in the wake of the "king."

Full of charming details referring to spring, though its conclusion breathes pessimism and despair, is the poem *Als mein Schreibpult zersprang*.⁶ All nature longs for Spring:

Und des Frühlings Kuss entgegen
Dehnt, erwacht, sich Zweig und Ast.

But not only the trees in the forest experience this conscious longing, even the wood, which has long since ceased to be part of a tree, and which man has already turned to his own purposes, is affected by the powerful influence of spring, and makes a last though futile effort to grow and sprout. Grillparzer also feels the potent forces of rejuvenating spring acting upon him; he, too, makes an effort to produce and bear: a new enthusiasm, fanned by spring breezes, seems to awaken in him, but it proves to be nothing but the last rally, which is immediately followed by death:

Und mein Busen drängt und hebt sich;
Doch, nicht fähig mehr zu grünen,
Ächzt er laut auf und—zerbirst.

The pessimism of these lines, which date from the year 1813, is a reflex of unhappy moods and experiences which caused Grillparzer to despair, for a while, of his poetic talent.

Grillparzer regards spring as nature's youth. Youth is a formative period, a period of hope and of enjoyment. In *Für ein sechzehnjähriges Mädchen*⁷ the poet advises the maid to make the best of her youth. He writes these lines in the month of May, the fairest of the whole year, and compares the short duration of spring beauty with the few months of pleasure, of youth, which are still in store for the maiden of sweet sixteen. Soon this happy time will be behind her, and the serious duties awaiting her as wife and mother will tax her strength and occupy her time. Spring is but brief, and summer, autumn,

⁶ II, p. 11.

⁷ III, p. 52.

winter will follow in rapid succession. Be happy then while nature herself rejoices. Enjoy life while you are young: *Dum loquimur, fugerit invida Aetas; carpe diem!*⁸ Or, in Grillparzer's language:

Flattre, bunter Sommervogel,
Sonnenwend' ist bald vorbei . . .
Flattre! Denn noch ist der Mai.

Optimism and hope thus lie in the words of Bertha,⁹ who looks forward with pleasure to the approach of May,

Wo das Feld sich kleidet neu,
Wo die Lüfte sanfter wehen
Und die Blumen auferstehen.

On the other hand, when Graf Borotin complains¹⁰ of the difficulty which he experiences in giving up, one by one, all the fair hopes "In der Jugend Lenz empfangen," we have to deal with one of Grillparzer's personal pessimistic reflections where Youth-Spring, and Old-Age-Winter, are mournfully contrasted.

In another part of the *Ahnfrau*¹¹ Bertha compares the feeling of hope, which begins gradually to fill her heart, with the effect of "Spring's soothing finger," which removes the dark envelope from the tender germ, and, likewise, in the poem *Der Genesene*,¹² the hopeful attitude toward life, upon the recovery from an illness, is likened to the awakening and to the productive power of spring:

Und als ob der Lenz erwache
All mit seiner Freuden Chor,
Treibt es nach der langen Brache
Grüne Spitzen neu hervor.

But spring means more to Grillparzer than only youth and hope. Linked with these two characteristics is the direct influence which spring exerts upon the human heart by fostering love. The beauty of nature, at this particular time of the year, is a powerful stimulus to passion, but our poet never

⁸ Horace, *Odes*, I, 11.

⁹ IV, p. 49.

¹⁰ I, p. 139.

¹¹ *Ahnfrau*, IV, p. 16.

¹² IV, p. 124.

so directly associates spring with love, as the minnesingers are wont to do. Love, according to Grillparzer, may be inspired by nature's beauty *at any time*, although spring, which means hope, is, perhaps, the most favorable period. This idea is expressed in the poem *Intermezzo*:¹³ in the month of May, when the flowers bloom and when the sweet melodies of the forest birds resound, love investigates if the natural conditions are favorable:

Da hebt sich eine Scholle,
Die Liebe lauscht hervor,
Ob noch der Winter grolle,
Noch laut der Stürme Chor?

This sounds, perhaps, as if love had been asleep throughout the long winter months. However, this is not so: love is like a tender flower, unable to endure, unprotected, the hardships of cold; and like a flower it demands to be cherished and nursed. The sheltering roof of man affords ample protection during the cold season, and thus we read, in the last stanza:

Doch friert es etwa nächtig,
Sucht sie der Menschen Dach
Und schürt ein Feuer mächtig
Im jungen Herzen wach.

The beauty of the description of spring and love is intensified by the introduction of the musical element to which the Romantic School paid marked attention. The music of love, its wonderful crescendo, its resounding forte, fortissimo, and its gradual decrescendo, piano, pianissimo, and final morente, is alluded to in a glowing tribute to the nightingale, the song-bird of love. The lines in question form the last stanza of the poem *Mistress Shave*:¹⁴

Da tönt vom Busch ein Laut der Wunderkehle,
Es steigt und schwillt, klingt nach, verhallt und stirbt.
Hab Dank, du Zauberin, o Philomele,
In die verloren, man sich selbst erwirbt.

Apart from those pessimistic references which we attributed to unfortunate circumstances in the poet's life, Grillparzer's

¹³ I, p. 223.

¹⁴ II, p. 46.

description of spring is altogether joyous. It is his constant endeavor to bring out the loveliness of the season, and to show its manifold aspects. He succeeds well, and his success seems to be due to the fact that he is well able to gather the various details together into one picture, where excessive intensity of light is artistically avoided by the use of well-distributed shadow. It is with interest that we watch the painter Grillparzer at work. Touch after touch we see him make upon the canvas with his saturated colors, and, at last, perhaps only in one line, he makes reference to the effect. One of the best pictures of this kind, in which I fail to find the lack of warmth and color for which Grillparzer's lyric efforts have been criticised, may be quoted in conclusion. The words are Publipor's in *Spartakus*.¹⁵

Wie wenn des jungen Frühlings lauer Finger
Den Schnee streift von der Erde starren Gliedern,
Das Gras hervortritt aus der Winterhülle,
Der Rose zarte Wangen süß erröten,
Die blauen Glöcklein holde Freude tönen,
Die Knospe auszieht ihren rauhen Pelz,
Des Bächleins Wellen durch die Wiesen hüpfen,
Und alles lebt und atmet und sich freut.

Summer, it appears, appeals to Grillparzer's nature-sense most effectively at night, but his descriptions of summer seem few among the numerous references to other phases of nature. A touch of weariness and languor rests upon the few passages that deal with this subject. Exhausted from the heat of day, nature enjoys the refreshing breezes of a summer-night, and man seeks comfort in cooling waves. So says Hero in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*.¹⁶

Wo, wie der Mensch, der, müd am Sommerabend,
Vom Ufer steigt ins weiche Wellenbad
Und, von dem lauen Strome rings umfassen,
In gleicher Wärme seine Glieder breitet, . . .

The balmy air and the inebriating fragrance of a multitude of blossoms increase the languor of the senses, and so, gradually, lead to self-oblivion. Nothing disturbs the holy com-

¹⁵ XI, p. 134.

¹⁶ IV, p. 12.

munion with nature, and even the melancholy vibrating notes of the lute, luring like the voice of the nightingale, add to the scene of universal repose and peace: the air listens, and the foliage ceases to stir because of the lack of wind:¹⁷

Hab' ich's euch doch schon erzählt,
 Wie in einer Sommernacht
 Ich dort in dem nahen Walde
 Mich lustwandelnd einst erging
 Und, vom Schmeichelhauch der Lüfte,
 Von dem Duft der tausend Blüten
 Eingekullt in süß Vergessen,
 Weiter ging als je zuvor.
 Wie mit einmal durch die Nacht
 Einer Laute Klang erwacht,
 Klagend, stöhnend, Mitleid flehend,
 Mit der Tonkunst ganzer Macht,
 Girrend bald gleich zarten Tauben
 Durch die dichtverschlungenen Lauben,
 Bald mit langgedehntem Schall
 Lockend gleich der Nachtigall,
 Dass die Lüfte schweigend horchten
 Und das Laub der regen Espe
 Seine Regsamkeit vergass.

The almost total neglect of autumn in Grillparzer's treatment of the seasons is characteristic. Is this due to the fact that he does not care for autumn, or that he attributes but little importance to this season? Neither one nor the other can be true, because so careful an observer of nature as Grillparzer does not fail to appreciate the charm of an autumnal landscape; nor is there any reference to autumn which implies that the poet regards this season as inferior to spring, summer and winter. The fact is that Grillparzer's *Herbststimmung* is somber, because autumn heralds the approach of winter, which he dreads. The realisation of the impending necessity of destruction is keener than the pleasure to be derived from an autumnal landscape, and, it is interesting to note, the outlook into the future is more painful to the poet than the actual experience proves to be later, when the dreaded future has

¹⁷ *Ahnfrau*, IV, p. 21.

come. Death itself has no horrors for Grillparzer, but the gradual and inevitable process of dissolution preparatory to ultimate chaos deeply affects him. The leaves which are blown from the trees in autumn storms are called "sommersatt" in the poem *Ein Herbstblatt*,¹⁸ and this one word characterizes Grillparzer's attitude toward autumn, and explains, perhaps, his preference for winter: all excesses lead to disease, and disease is ultimately fatal. This condition gives rise to a melancholy sensation in the poet, and may even go so far as to become unbearable and repulsive to him.

How different is the exhilarating atmosphere with which we meet in the poem *Dezemberlied*.¹⁹ Winter, the poet argues, deprives nature of a great deal, but the loss on one side is compensated by the gain on the other. This observation is then followed by a comparison of the two great extremes, winter and spring:

Eis dein Schmuck und fallend Laub
Deine Schmetterlinge.
Rabe deine Nachtigall,
Schnee dein Blütenstäuben;
Deine Blumen, traurig all,
Auf gefrorenen Scheiben.

A slight vibration of melancholy is perceivable also in this passage, but we can hardly expect anything else when falling leaves and butterflies, raven and nightingale, snow and the rain of blossoms, etc., are considered side by side. It is in this very contrast that I find the beauty of the description: the attributes of nature are vastly different in spring and in winter, but Grillparzer substitutes the attributes of the latter for those of the former. Another note of appreciation rings through the subsequent stanzas, where the beneficent influence of the retreat to the fireside, in winter, is mentioned. For man in general, and for the poet in particular, one of the effects of this season is of utmost importance:

Sammlung, jene Götterbraut,
Mutter alles Grossen,
Steigt herab auf deinen (Winter's) Laut
Segenübergossen.

¹⁸ III, p. 48.

¹⁹ I, p. 157.

This is why Grillparzer cannot understand the disrespectful epithet *Würger* by which winter is sometimes designated. He, on the contrary, bids him welcome; he looks far beneath the surface, and expresses the result of his examination with the appreciative words:

Und die Winter der Natur
Sind der Geister Lenze.

The vivid contrast between winter and spring, the sudden and unexpected transition from one to the other, appears also in his *Diary on his Italian journey*.²⁰

Noch in der Nacht passierten wir Monselice; endlich brach der Tag an, eben als Rovigo vor uns lag. Ich schaute um mich her und schaute wieder, aber es war kein Traum. Schien es doch, als ob die Welt der Märchen wiedergekehrt wäre, und irgend ein wohlthätiger Zauberer uns in der Nacht in einen andern Weltteil geführt hätte. Auf unserer Reise bis Triest fanden wir überall noch Schnee und Winter; die See, das *ἄλς ἀπύργος*, bot kein Grün als das ihres Wassers, in Venedig sprosst und grünt nichts, selbst keine Bäume; nach der Überfahrt über die Lagunen fanden wir das Land schon in Nacht verhüllt, wir befanden uns daher mit unsern Gedanken noch im Winter, und wenn wir auch glaubten, manches weiter vorgerückt zu sehn, als in den Gegenden, die wir verlassen, so konnte doch der Unterschied, Zeit und Entfernung betrachtet, unserer Meinung nach nicht so gross sein. Nun stellte sich aber mit einemmal eine ganz andere Welt dar. Grüne Felder, von lebendigen Zäunen umfassen, mit Feigen—und Maulbeerbäumen besetzt, an denen sich festonartig Weinreben fortwanden; mit einem Worte: wir waren in Italien angelangt.

The more one studies the poetry of winter in Grillparzer, the more one notes his fondness for that season. And yet there is a number of descriptive passages referring to winter, which bear the marks of blackest pessimism and despair. Bertha's gloomy description of the winter-night,²¹ where the earth is likened to a corpse over which winter has spread the shroud of snow, is motivated and made appreciable by her youth. She longs for spring because her heart is young, because her blood is warm. To her, winter is as yet a cold

²⁰ XIX, p. 206.

²¹ *Ahnfrau*, IV, p. 16.

mystery of death and horror, which she fears because she is not sufficiently mature to comprehend it. This explanation, however, cannot be offered when one considers Grillparzer's somber winter-poem *Polarszene*,²² for here the poet speaks himself. Death is also here the chord, and plaintive is the note which rings throughout both stanzas. It is not so much the presence of ice and snow, and the lack of warming sunshine, which seems to freeze Grillparzer's poetic imagination and deprive him of his productive ambition: a keener consciousness of utter desolation and, consequently, a depression sufficiently powerful to kill all self-confidence and hope, must be attributed directly to the total absence of song-birds. The musical poet needs encouragement from nature's voice:

Auf blinkenden Gefilden
Ringsum nur Eis und Schnee,
Verstummt der Trieb zu bilden,
Kein Sänger in der Höh'!
Kein Strauch, der Labung böte,
Kein Sonnenstrahl, der frei.
Und nur des Nordlichts Röte
Zeigt wüst die Wüstenei.

Grillparzer here expresses his temporary *Stimmung*, as he says in the second stanza:

So sieht's in einem Innern,
So steht's in einer Brust,
Erstorben die Gefühle,
Des Grünens frische Lust.
Nur schimmernde Ideen,
Im Kalten angefacht,
Erheben sich, entstehen,
Und schwinden in die Nacht.

The poet's general treatment of winter is wholly different. Another specimen of optimistic description of winter may here be mentioned: *Jagd im Winter*.²³ Emphasis is laid in this poem upon the color-scheme of a winter-landscape: the heavens gray, and the earth white. The monotony of this combination of colors, due to the absence of a bit of relieving green—Die

²² I, p. 209.

²³ II, p. 50.

Bäume kahl—is enlivened, however, by the glittering, crystal ice. The poet's *joie de vivre* is only intensified by the cold, and in a buoyant spirit he sings:

Mag zagen, wer will, mir wallet es heiss,
Ich nenne willkommen dich, blinkendes Eis,
Dich, starrender Winter willkommen.

In the second and last stanza of *Jagd im Winter*, there is contained a reminiscence of spring, but in each instance we notice the desire to suppress all thoughts of this kind, and the anxiety to appreciate what is, and not what might be. With this end in view, Grillparzer compares the present generation of man with winter, and he comes to the conclusion that such a comparison is more fitting than one with spring. Again he welcomes, therefore, the snow-bedecked fields. To the advantage of winter is also the comparison between the winter of nature and the winter of the human intellect. The latter goes further than nature, causing death, while nature only chills. In the evening only, seated by the fireside, the poet believes his longing for spring to be justified, but even here he states particularly that the expression of his longing shall be confined to

ein einziger Seufzer

Nach Lenz und Blüten und Früchten.

Of importance for the study of Grillparzer's description of nature is his treatment of sunrise and sunset, morning and evening, day and night, light and darkness. Wonderfully blended are the colors into which the artist here dips his brush, and ever-varied are his pictures.

One of these pictures of sunrise, suffused with a wealth of color and light, may be found in *Melusina*,²⁴ where Bertha and Troll together call Raimund's attention to the break of day: rosy clouds brighten up the heavens, and a "sea of fire" rushes from *des Aufgangs Pforten*. This rapidly spreading sea of fire overflows all creation; its vital influence is felt everywhere. So, the divine rays of sunlight lay bare the heart of man: care-worn, he has tossed himself about, throughout

²⁴ VII, p. 258.

the night, slumber has fled his couch; but now the soothing messenger of nature seeks him out, and as light and clearness enter his anxious soul, lifting the veil from the chaos of doubt and anguish, he feels relieved and comforted. Cf. the words of Preisl in *Friedrich der Streitbare*.²⁵

Der Morgen schimmert schon von jenen Bergen,
Die Sonne steigt empor. Ist's doch, als ob ihr Strahl,
Indem er die Umgebungen erleuchtet,
Zugleich des Menschen Inneres erhellte.
Was uns bei Nacht auf schlummerlosem Lager
In marternder Verwirrung ängstigte,
Es schlichtet sich beim ersten Blick des Tages,
Und Klarheit kehrt und Ruh zur Brust zurück.

The sun himself is *heiter*, and this characteristic trait is rapidly communicated to all nature under the influence of light. Even the smallest insects *make merry* in the sunshine, and the awakening flowers *nicken freundlich ihren stillen Gruss*.²⁶—The idea concomitant with sunshine is pleasure—pure, unselfish, and universal:

Seht, im Osten steigt die Sonne,
Alles lacht in ihrem Schein.²⁷

This pleasure is evinced by new ambition and by new activity. Sunlight is thus a stimulus to work, and, with a consciousness of purpose, the sun looks down in astonishment upon the idle. This idea is beautifully carried out in *Der Traum ein Leben*,²⁸ where the uplifting influence of sunrise is made use of, not merely as a decorative stage-effect, but for the purpose of arousing Rustan from his indifference. Upon the sight of the sun, Rustan bends his knee in worship and expresses eloquently his admiration of and his gratitude to the *Eternal Sun*.

While Rustan's prayer is the expression of youthful enthusiasm, we find in Merenberg's words²⁹ the light-inspired attitude of hope, the last flickering flame kindled in the heart of an age-worn man. To him sunrise means another day: another day of life for him and another opportunity for the

²⁵ XII, p. 9.

²⁶ *Melusina*, VII, p. 257.

²⁷ *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*, VI, p. 71.

²⁸ *Psyche*, XI, p. 124.

²⁹ VII, p. 214.

ruling House of Hapsburg, which he serves, to restore Austria to the beauty and wealth which the tyranny of war had temporarily laid waste. But the beauty and wealth of nature must be *seen*, to be appreciated. This is made possible only through the medium of light, as Grillparzer states briefly in the Chorus in *Melusina*:³⁰

Doch wie aller Erden Pracht
Erst die Sonne sichtbar macht;

while, in his *Tagebuch auf der Reise nach Italien*,³¹ he refers to the effect of the rising sun, which unfolds to him the wonders of nature as *welch einziger Genuss!*

The manifest combination of the moral and æsthetic elements in light justify Hero³² in calling it *gottentsprungen*, and the poet carries out this idea more elaborately in his ode of appreciation *An die Sonne*,³³ which represents, at the same time, a summing up of all the characteristics of sunlight:

Sonne, göttliches Licht! Schaffende, nährende
Himmelstochter! Du spendest uns
Wonne, Segen und Lust, Früchte den lockenden
Fluren, zeugest den Traubensaft.

Grillparzer likewise shows keen appreciation for the romantic beauty of moonlight effects. So, he lets Publior³⁴ describe the magic charm of a moonlit landscape. The moon herself is likened to a silver sickle contrasting prominently with a background of dark-blue clouds; the light itself is characterized by the adjective *süss*. A passage in *Das Kloster bei Sendomir*³⁵ shows the rising moon struggling with and conquering the last rays of the evening twilight, while the dark shadows of night "settle in the folds of the valley and beneath the trees in the forest." If sunlight inspires to activity, the moon, as a characteristic attribute of night, invites to rest. This is the thought reflected in Grillparzer's ode *An den Mond*,³⁶ a fitting counterpart to his above-mentioned tribute *An die Sonne*. In this poem the heavens are likened

³⁰ VII, p. 262.

³¹ VII, p. 20.

³² *Spartakus*, XI, p. 134.

³³ II, p. 78.

³⁴ XIX, p. 253.

³⁵ II, p. 70.

³⁶ XIII, p. 196.

to the waves of the sea over which the moon glides gently. Here, also, the moonlight is referred to as *holder Schimmer*. The moon herself is personified, and her light is called *Blick*. Rest, joy, solace and oblivion are the effects of moonlight upon the soul of man:

Sanfter, als die heisse Sonne,
Winkt dein Schimmer Ruh' und Freud',
Und erfüllt mit süsser Wonne,
Tröstung und Vergessenheit.

It should not be forgotten that Grillparzer sought *Tröstung und Vergessenheit* in the realm of poetry. The moon, now, is one of the phenomena of nature which furnishes a source of inspiration. In a later reference⁸⁷ to the poem *An den Mond*, its two first stanzas are attributed directly to the action of the full moon upon the poet's imagination.

With glowing red, a contrast to the blue sky, the whole in a frame of dark-gray, Grillparzer paints a placid picture of sunset and evening.⁸⁸ Lest the green of the foliage disappear in this sea of red, a gentle breeze is made to stir the leaves, thus causing a vibration of color which the poet believes to be so beautiful that he calls attention to it again through its reflection in a near-by pond. Gradually, together with the setting sun, the entire picture disappears from view; the approaching night casts its dark veil over it, and, like a mist in the background, the fragrance of mountain, dale and meadow rises slowly up to the heavens—incense from altars of worship:

Berg und Tal und Wiese düften,
Dampfenden Altären gleich.

All is gray; *farbloses Grau* the priest calls it in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*;⁸⁹ utter hopelessness seems to linger over the universe. But this does not last. Soon the picture changes, as the somber gray is enlivened, here and there, by the brightness of a star. We stand and count. One by one, at

⁸⁷ *Zu den einzelnen Werken*, XVIII, p. 165.

⁸⁸ *Der Abend*, II, p. 81.

⁸⁹ VII, p. 47.

first, then faster, and ever faster, until the number grows beyond us

blinkt dort ein Stern,
Und dort ein zweiter, dritter, hundert, tausend,

and the former spectacle of hopelessness changes to an inspiration of fairest hope:

Die Ahnung einer reichen, gotterhellten Nacht

drifts into the soul of man. Everlasting is this feeling and the blessing of hope; it is a hope beyond the grave, for the stars are always the same: their mild, soothing, hope-inspiring light is always present. So Medea:⁴⁰

Die Nacht bricht ein, die Sterne steigen auf,
Mit mildem, sanften Licht herunterscheinend;
Dieselben heute, die sie gestern waren,
Als wäre alles heut', wie's gestern war.

A suggestive passage referring to sunset and evening may be found in *Der Traum ein Leben*. Mirza here⁴¹ passes from one to the other. The parting sun which goes to rest is used here for the purpose of introducing the idea of tranquillity and repose. In this manner, the connection between sunset and evening is established, and now follows a beautiful elaboration of the theme which has found so much favor with nature-poets of renown: evening, representing the cessation of nature's activity, grants her the well-earned rest from the labors of the day. The birds in the branches announce the hour of relief for all creation, the herds seek shelter for the night, and the drooping flower-heads, like babes at bedtime, show that they have already obeyed the call of Mother Nature:

Abend ist's, die Schöpfung feiert,
Und die Vögel aus den Zweigen,
Wie beschwingte Silberglöckchen,
Läuten ein den Feierabend,
Schon bereit, ihr süß Gebot,
Ruhend, selber zu erfüllen.
Alles folgt ihrem Rufe,
Alle Augen fallen zu;
Zu den Hürden zieht die Herde,

⁴⁰ V, p. 217.

⁴¹ VII, p. 112.

Und die Blume senkt in Ruh
Schlammerschwer das Haupt zur Erde.

It may not be far-fetched to recall in this connection Goethe's well-known poem *Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh'* . . .

How does the period of nature's slumber appear to Grillparzer? This question leads us to the consideration of his treatment of night and darkness. What is remarkable here is Grillparzer's point of view. The element of rest and slumber, although not entirely missing, appears to have been crowded into the background under the forceful strain of the realization that night's steady companion is darkness, the mother of evil. There is a great number of passages which thus describe night from the viewpoint of horror. The very thought that night obscures the beauty of nature is sufficient to inspire horror and fear. So in the poem *Verwandlungen*:⁴²

Wie bist du schaurig,
Du dunkle Nacht!
Hier waren Wiesen,
War Farbenpracht,
Doch kaum zur Rüste
Der Sonne Schein,
So sank zur Wüste
Das Eden ein.

More vivid even than this, is the description of the awesome element in night as the result of a bad conscience, linked invariably with the irrational fear of phantoms and spooks. Night here becomes a tormenting persecutor and avenger of crime—darkness not only breeds, but also punishes deeds of evil. Jaromir's slumber is disturbed by the ghost of the ancestress who leaves her grave at night. His morbid imagination and the consciousness of wrong make night and darkness an intolerable burden for him:⁴³

Da reiss' ich des Bettes Vorhang
Auf mit ungestümer Hast:
Und mit tausend Flammenaugen
Starrt die Nacht mich glotzend an.

⁴² I, p. 216.

⁴³ IV, p. 44.

Forces of nature, to which little attention is paid in the daytime, inspire fear at night. The howling storm thus becomes the terrifying language of darkness (cf. *Ahnfrau*, IV, p. 86), and darkness is the grave, is death (cf. *Sappho*, IV, p. 188). At *night* Melitta was taken away from the loving arms of her parents. *That* night has left an inextinguishable impression upon her; she calls it *wild*.⁴⁴ Drahomira⁴⁵ directly refers to night as *Die Mutter nächtlich schwarzer Tat*, and she likens darkness to a dragon whose wings protect the brood of evil, until it has sufficiently matured to withstand the penetrating rays of sunlight.—Medea calls upon the *düsteren Geister der schaurigen Nacht*⁴⁶ for assistance; her black magic art is the child of night.⁴⁷ The horrible dragon who guards the Golden Fleece dwells in the darkness of a cave,⁴⁸ and Gora threatens the life of those who would deprive Medea of her children with the words:⁴⁹

Sie sollen . . .
 . . . sterben, fallen,
 In Grausen, in Nacht!

Don Pedro speaks of the poisonous breath of darkness, and midnight, he says, is pregnant with a black monster.⁵⁰ The horrors of midnight, when the owl, the bird of misery, shrieks, when the graves open themselves and give forth their gruesome contents, are drastically pictured also by Publipor.⁵¹

Again and again, as we have seen, night and darkness are identified with horror and evil, but this is not the only aspect of Grillparzer's description of the subject. Total absence of light is always accompanied by hopelessness and despair. In the description of sunset this idea was reproduced; in the description of night, the poet carries it still further. To exemplify, the words of Count Borotin may be quoted:⁵²

Fahre wohl denn, fahre wohl!
 Meine letzte, einz'ge Hoffnung!

⁴⁴ IV, p. 163.

⁴⁵ V, p. 45.

⁴⁶ V, p. 67.

⁴⁷ X, p. 187.

⁴⁸ IV, p. 93.

⁴⁹ XI, p. 3.

⁵⁰ V, p. 133.

⁵¹ V, p. 178.

⁵² XI, p. 138.

Wohl, die Sonne ist hinunter,
Ausgeglimmt der letzte Schein,
Dunkle Nacht bricht rings herein.

The pure and innocent are spared the horrors of night. To them night brings rest and refreshment, darkness brings sleep. In Bertha's *Lied in der Nacht*⁵³ we have a beautiful exposition of this thought. Attention must be given here to the fact that the terms *dark* or *black* are not to be found: Grillparzer associates horror and evil with these terms, and inasmuch as this poem has no reference thereto, they have been carefully avoided. The whole poem, on the contrary, breathes a beneficent air, and the consciousness of the blessings of sleep is uppermost in the poet's mind. Darkness, as has just been pointed out, is not directly mentioned, but only alluded to, and the allusion itself is highly poetic:

*Nacht umhüllt
Mit wehendem Flügel
Täler und Hügel,
Ladend zur Ruh.*

The description of night as a time of rest leads further to the consideration of that element without which rest is impossible: quiet, tranquillity. Quiet is necessary for the preparation of some great work, for the planning of some important undertaking, and this necessary element of stillness is afforded by night, the time when all nature is asleep. Thus night may be a source of inspiration to man; a thought which Spartakus expresses so well:⁵⁴

Im Dunkel wird das Würdige geboren,
Und erst vollendet zeigt es sich dem Licht,
So hat mein Thun die Nacht zur Wiege erkoren,
Es flieht die Sonn', doch fürchtet es sie nicht.

The same tranquillity which is an inspiration of work acts also as an inspiration of love, thus opening the most important page in the book of nature. At night, when darkness condemns our outer senses to inactivity, our inmost feeling is more easily accessible to nature's influence than at any other

⁵³ II, p. 12.

⁵⁴ XI, p. 241.

time. It is again Spartakus who translates this thought into romantic language:⁵⁵

Wenn sie vertrauend lag in meinen Armen,
Im Schoss der Nacht, die unsre innern Sinne
Vom Schlaf erweckt, wenn sie die äussern einullt,
Vom Zitterschein der Sterne mild umflossen.

The reflection of night and darkness in the character of man is shown in Jason's words:⁵⁶

Ich lieb' die Nacht, der Tag verletzt mein Auge.

This line is prompted by the fact that Jason is conscious of his wrong-doing.—On the other hand, Grillparzer draws a powerful picture of the inhabitants of Kolchis by careful description of the darkness of its forests, the thickness of its fogs, and the prevailing stillness of death, which is interrupted only by the howling of the wind and by the uncanny rustling of lofty pines.⁵⁷ This gloomy picture is used for the purpose of preparing us for just as gloomy deeds, to be perpetrated by the natives of such a country. It is significant that Milo, a member of the Greek expedition, rather than a Kolchian, gave this description of Kolchis. A Kolchian could not give it, could not do justice to it, because his description of nature would be too subjective, as Medea herself remarks:⁵⁸

O Kolchis! O du meiner Väter Land!
Sie nennen dunkel dich, *mir* scheinst du hell!

Grillparzer attached so much importance to the description of night that he devoted an entire scene, the first act of the *Argonauten*, to a symbolic representation of it. We are in Kolchis. *Wilde Gegend mit Felsen und Bäumen* (obscuring light), . . . *finstere Nacht*, says the introductory note. Soon Aietes appears *ganz in einen dunkeln Mantel gehüllt*. Absyrtus speaks in glowing terms of the beauty of Kolchis, the land where the sun sets; later he calls up to the lonely tower in which his sister practises *black witchcraft* (the tower is *scantily* lighted by but one flickering light). He addresses Medea as *Du Wandlerin der Nacht*. When she finally con-

⁵⁵ XI, p. 152.

⁵⁷ V, pp. 47, 48.

⁵⁶ V, p. 134.

⁵⁸ V, p. 146.

sents to come down and to meet father and brother, she appears in clothes which are highly suggestive of the poet's intention to introduce a personification of sunset (cf. V, p. 37, bottom). Aietes' guilt-laden conscience cannot bear so much light, and thus Medea extinguishes her torch. She yields to her father's wishes, and she agrees to make use of her art, to slay the bold foreigners. For this purpose, she invokes the *düstern Geister der schaurigen Nacht*. The appearance of Jason, who represents Light, sets off Medea's characteristics still more prominently. Later, we are taken into *ein düsteres Gewölbe im Innern des Turmes*, and Medea comes *einen schwarzen Stab in der Rechten*. During her invocation of the *furchtbare Fürsten der Tiefe*, she is surprised by Jason. He wounds her and would have killed her, but as he raises the lamp to discover her hiding-place, he is awed by so much beauty which darkness had concealed from him. Light-Jason finally conquers Darkness-Medea, because into her soul have penetrated the heavenly rays of light, of love. The next act contains the following significant introductory note: *Es ist Tag*.

There remains to be discussed under the heading of light and darkness, the contrast between the two which Grillparzer uses with considerable effect. While light leads to knowledge, in so far as it represents experience gained through our visual sense, darkness makes appeal to our inner feeling. Too much light, however, is as harmful as too much darkness, and nature has thus wisely provided for a proper distribution of each. This is well expressed by Rudolf in the *Bruderkzwist*.⁵⁹ Likewise, when Phaon awakes from the dream which shows that he has now grown conscious of his love for Melitta, he contrasts the new light which has been poured out over his soul, with the former state of gloom. The entire contrast is visualized by means of describing the joy of one who sees the sunlight again after being cast suddenly into the dark depths of the sea. The entire passage⁶⁰ reminds one vividly of Schiller's *Taucher*:

Ich atme wieder unbeklemmt und frei;
Und gleich dem Armen, den ein jäher Sturz

⁵⁹ IX, p. 108.

⁶⁰ IV, p. 175.

Ins dunkle Reich der See hinabgeschleudert,
 Wo Grausen herrscht und ängstlich dumpfes Bangen,
 Wenn ihn empor nun hebt der Wellen Arm
 Und jetzt das heitre goldne Sonnenlicht,
 Der Kuss der Luft, des Kluges freud'ge Stimme
 Mit einemmal um seine Stimme spielen:
 So steh' ich freudetrunken, glücklich, selig,
 Und wünsche mir, erliegend all der Wonne,
 Mehr Sinne oder weniger Genuss.

We have here all the characteristics of darkness: horror, gloom, and quiet, set off by all the attributes of light: impulse of energy, sound and joy of living. In his apology to Kreusa, for allowing himself to fall in love with the Barbarian woman, Jason also effectively avails himself of the contrast between light and darkness. The radiant beauty of Medea, in the milieu of Kolchis' horrible night, captured his light-loving heart; but she remains beautiful only so long as her fairness is brought into prominence by a dark background: in Greece, in the land of light, she appears dark, and thus she loses her former attraction:⁶¹

Ist sie hier dunkel, dort erschien sie licht,
 Im Abstich ihrer nächtlichen Umgebung.

As we have seen, Medea always represents darkness, in spite of the above-quoted passage which seems to me to characterize Jason's infatuation as an illusion. The very failure of the marriage between Jason and Medea appears to be caused by the contrast of light and darkness, sunrise and sunset, day and night, which has been shown to exist between the two. A union of two elements so opposed to each other is an impossibility, just as day and night can have no place side by side. Their paths, aims and purposes lie in altogether different directions, and their children—(they are Jason's children as well as Medea's, but they resemble him more than her)—are the children of light rather than of darkness, and they obey more readily the impulses of light. It is this realization which places the dagger in the mother's hand:⁶²

⁶¹ V, p. 149.

⁶² V, p. 215.

Wenn ich bedenk', dass es mein eigen Blut,
 Das Kind, das ich im eignen Schoss getragen,
 Das ich genährt an dieser meiner Brust,
 Dass es mein Selbst, *das sich gen mich empört*,
So sieht der Grimm mir schneidend durch das Innre,
Und Blutgedanken bäumen sich empor.

The significant passage through which Grillparzer seems to anticipate, from the very outset, the gloomy end of the relations between the ill-mated pair, is the symbolic wedding scene,⁶³ in which Jason tears the black veil (symbol of darkness) from Medea's brow:

Und wie ich diesen Schleier von dir reisse,
 Durchwoben mit der Unterird'schen Zeichen,
 So reiss' ich dich von all den Banden los,
 Die dich geknüpft an dieses Landes Frevel . . .
 So frei und offen bist du Jasons Braut!

Jason here desires to wed light unto darkness, and the undertaking of the impossible must finally be fatal to both.

A glance over the many passages which embody Grillparzer's treatment of water reveals only one reference to its usefulness:⁶⁴

Der Strom, der Schiffe trägt und Wiesen wässert,
 Er mag durch Felsen sich und Klippen drängen,
 Vermischen sich mit seiner Ufer Grund,
 Er fördert, nützt, ob klar, ob trüb verbreitet.

A general description of water is given in the poem *Das Spiegelbild*.⁶⁵ The poet lies stretched out in the green, by the side of a spring, and, unconsciously, he allows himself to come under the influence of the clear water in which he sees his own countenance reflected. He forgets, for a moment, his prejudice against water's treachery, and associates the still purity of the transparent element with the longing of his heart, resolving to settle here, and to dwell in harmony with it, in the expectation of finding rest and comfort:

⁶³ V, p. 100.

⁶⁴ *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, VII, p. 48.

⁶⁵ I, pp. 162, 163.

An deinem Ufer will ich ruhn,
 Will mir ein Laubdach baun,
 Matt von des Lebens Mühn und Thun
 In deine Wellen schaun.

But suddenly he beholds in the water not only his own picture, but also that of a friend whom he believed in the distance, and this reminds him again of water's insincerity. However, he is far from quarreling with nature on this account, and he accepts and appreciates nature as she is: to suggest improvements would seem sacrilegious to him:

Des Wassers Art ist eben so,
 Zeigt nicht nur ein Gesicht,
 Die ganze Welt ist dessen froh,
 Und ich auch grolle nicht.

In spite of the unreliability of water, the poet is ready to enjoy its beauties, also in the future; but appreciation of beauty does not lay claim to trust, and he decides therefore to build his home elsewhere.

The insincere character of water is made the object of description in a number of other passages. Grillparzer's personal sincerity and straightforwardness resents it, and yet there seems to be a peculiar attraction for him in this particular trait. Like Lord Byron, he is at times aroused by the beautiful spectacle presented by the conspiracy of the raging elements against man. A picture of this kind is drawn by Phryxus:⁶⁶

Und wie die Wogen schäumten, Donner brüllten,
 Und Meer und Wind und Hölle sich verschworen,
 Mich zu versenken in das nasse Grab;

and *tückisch* and *schwarz* (the latter being here synonymous with evil) are the qualifying adjectives with which Count Borotin⁶⁷ refers to water.

However, far more important than the treatment of water as a treacherous element are Grillparzer's allusions to its harmonious language. In the poem *Bachesgemurmel*⁶⁸ he imitates with rare skill the splashing of the billows, and he interprets the

⁶⁶ V, p. 23.

⁶⁷ IV, p. 98.

⁶⁸ I, p. 173.

language of water. The poem represents a dialogue between two waves. The second, *i. e.*, the next-following wave, crowds upon the first. The latter remonstrates, claiming priority, but Wave No. 2 pays no heed. A cry of pain indicates that the first wave has been struck and crowded out of its original place. The remaining waves then comfort their companion and chide the impatient one:

Nu, nu!
Keine Ruh?
Fliesen doch alle dem Frieden zu.

The musical murmuring of a brook conveys to the poet the idea of joy. "*Seht an den Bach*," says Libussa,⁶⁹ "*wie froh er murmelt*," and the hollow murmur of ocean billows, in the neighborhood of St. Helena Island, reveals the voice of an avenging deity.⁷⁰ We observe then that the language of water is one of the causes which lead to the poet's pantheistic interpretation of nature.

Grillparzer's description of water, as may have become evident, shows particular interest in the source of a river, and in the brook. His treatment of stream and river is not so enthusiastically appreciative. This is due to the fact that the transparent purity of spring and brook

Zu dem der Pilger naht mit durst'gem Mund,
Die Priesterin, zu sprengen am Altar,"

is much more attractive and symbolically significant to him than the prosaic *Strom, der Schiffe trägt und Wiesen wässert*.⁷² The other reason for Grillparzer's apparent neglect of the river is to be sought in his realization that the element of freedom, so closely linked with spring and brook, is lost in stream and river which become the *Diener eines andern*⁷³ (*i. e.*, of the sea), thus losing their original individuality.

Guided by the *Servant*, we follow our poet to his description of the *Master*, and we admire with him the beauty of the sea. In 1819, on his trip to Italy, Grillparzer saw the sea for the first time. It is interesting to note with what impetuous

⁶⁹ VIII, p. 214.

⁷⁰ VII, p. 48.

⁷¹ VIII, p. 214.

⁷² II, p. 88.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

impatience the poet leaped from his carriage, when he arrived at the top of the hill which was the last obstacle between him and the object of his longing. Like a wild, resounding shout of joy, a second *Θάλαττα, θάλαττα!* there comes from the bottom of his heart the utterance: "*Ah! und da lag es vor uns weit und blau und hell, und es war das Meer!*"⁷⁴ Grillparzer's imagination had drawn a loftier, mightier picture than that which he now beheld, but he had not expected so much beauty. It is true, as he himself remarks, that the sea in the vicinity of Trieste is not especially awe-inspiring. Perhaps, had he first seen the sea in some other more favorable locality, the real would have come closer to his ideal. Nevertheless, the impression made upon him by the beauty of the spectacle was so overwhelming that words failed him to express it. He expected to find a "rigid, unsubdued element," and his admiring eyes fell upon a calm and gentle sea which he likened in beautiful language to a pacified sweetheart, "*die doppelt schön ist, wenn sie gezürnt hat und getobt, und nun doppelt hold den Teuren schmeichelnd und besänftigend umfängt—*" Particularly beautiful appears to Grillparzer the sea at sunset. If he had been charmed by the light-effect, displayed by morning—and midday—sun in connection with the sea, he went into ecstasy ("*und ich dachte mir im Feenlande zu sein*"⁷⁵), when all the colors of the rainbow—blue and red and green and gold—seemed to be reflected in the water. So powerful was the effect that he was anxious to return home, for rest and—for meditation.

In contrast with the immeasurable beauty of a calm sea is the terror inspired by the raging element. Beauty may be affected by a change of character, and so the poet describes (*Am Morgen nach einem Sturme*)⁷⁶ the sea as *taub und düster* in consequence of its foolish and useless struggle against heaven and earth. Return to the state of calmness, *i. e.*, of beauty, is therefore the poet's advice to the sea. The cause of the sea's hostility is attributed by Grillparzer to envy, and this envy, he attempts to show, is unfounded as the beauty of neither heaven nor earth in any way surpasses that of the sea.

⁷⁴ XIX, p. 198.

⁷⁵ XIX, p. 200.

⁷⁶ I, p. 132.

In another passage (*Mirjams Siegesgesang*),⁷⁷ on the other hand, the storming sea is described as an agent of vengeance whose anger can be appeased only by the destruction of the guilty. So complete is this act of destruction, that not a trace remains of the criminal, who disappears entirely, hidden from view by the punishing waves, which are grave and coffin at the same time. This is again an allusion to the ideal of ethics expressed through one of the forces of nature, but in this instance, strictly in accordance with the subject of this poem, the avenging sea does not represent the godhead itself, but—scripture-like—nature sings the glory of Almighty God:

Drum mit Zimbel und mit Saiten
 Lasst den Hall es (d. h. das Meer) tragen weit,
 Gross der Herr zu allen Zeiten,
 Heute gross vor aller Zeit.

Descriptions of the raging elements coupled with reflections upon their effect on nature and man are not infrequent; particular attention, however, seems to have been paid to the subject of thunderstorms. In the poem *Gedanken am Fenster*⁷⁸ we have a fine exposition of the contrast which lies in the twofold effect of a thunderstorm. From the near mountains comes the first warning roar of thunder; gloom, fear and death is spread out everywhere: the whole represents a manifestation of the supreme power of the deity. The earth is terrified, the air is in a state of breathless anxiety, the birds have ceased their singing and they listen, from their nests, to the mightier voice. All nature is conscious of the approach of judgment. A flash of lightning causes the guilty eye of man to close, and his inmost soul is bared by the brilliancy of the pure avenging light. A squall of wind, which raises a cloud of dust, thus hiding everything from view, adds to the general confusion, and intensifies fear. The climax of tension is therewith reached, and immediate relief is now brought by a cooling shower. The fearful anticipation of vengeance yields to the consciousness of nature's blessings:

Doch horch! welch' leis' Bewegen
 Rauscht durch die Blätterwand?

⁷⁷ I, p. 188.

⁷⁸ II, p. 26.

Was Strafe schien, wird Segen,
 Vom Himmel rieselt Regen
 Und tränkt das durst'ge Land.

But not always is the damage done by the raging elements of so little consequence as here. The irrestrainable power of nature's destructive forces brings man to the sad realization of his own impotence: with a shrug of his shoulders he must look on, well aware of the futility of any attempt at interference. So Nankleros:⁷⁹

Wer spräch' auch wohl zum brandend tauben Meer,
 Zum lauten Sturm, dem wilden Tier der Wüste,
 Das achtlos folgt der angeborenen Gier?

The destruction so often wrought by a thunderstorm is alluded to by Ottokar, who compares his own actions with the ravages of a storm.⁸⁰ Another inference, however, is to be drawn from this passage. Grillparzer here defends the right of nature to inflict injury, by calling attention to nature's ability to make amends. He who destroys, must have the power to replace, and he who destroys knowing that he cannot replace, must necessarily commit an immoral act. Of such immorality man may well be guilty, but nature is regarded by Grillparzer as the moral ideal, so that an immoral action on the part of nature is an impossibility.

Ich hab' nicht gut in deiner Welt gehaust,
 Du grosser Gott! Wie Sturm und Ungewitter
 Bin ich gezogen über deine Fluren;
 Du aber bist's allein, der stürmen kann,
 Denn du allein kannst heilen, grosser Gott.

The musical element is not found wanting in the poet's description of storm and wind. Again we are able to distinguish the fine feeling and the trained ear of the musician to whom the roaring thunder, the surging sea and the howling wind mean infinitely more than noise, and who even attempts to classify the music of nature. Like frivolous dance-music seems to Grillparzer the roaring of the wind, and all that is

⁷⁹ VII, p. 77.

⁸⁰ VI, p. 137.

leer und leicht, i. e., frivolously inclined, is seized by it and whirled around in loud merriment:⁸¹

Wenn starke Winde wehen,
Dann fliegt, vom Schwung erreicht,
Papier und dürre Blätter,
Was irgend leer und leicht.

The birds take no part in the wild dance because they, the real musicians of nature, feel the same aversion toward dance-music as many of their human colleagues. They wait patiently in their nests, until the orgy is over:

Doch wenn die Stürme schweigen,
Die Sonne wieder lacht,
Dann sinkt mit eins zu Boden,
Was hob des Windes Macht;
Indes die kleinen Vögel
Hoch fliegen mit *Getön*.

The words *hoch* and *Getön* are significant. *Hoch*, undoubtedly, is to be taken as contrast to the light, frivolous element which remains much nearer to the earth, while *Getön*, which is equal to *harmony*, or any other related term, is found wanting in the references to storm and wind. One may unhesitatingly interpret this contrast as symbolic of the gap between trivial and ideal music. The former, as one may easily comprehend, has but little attraction for Grillparzer, so that his longing for the cessation of storm and for the return of nature's calm beauty (in which the birds' song is an important element) sounds very natural.

Without mentioning any of the many useful qualities of rain, Grillparzer describes, in gloomy language, the effect of rainy weather upon his own *Stimmung*. Still better expressed, the poem *Sendschreiben*,⁸² which I have in mind, shows not so much the effect of rainy weather upon his mood as the reflection of his melancholy *Stimmung* through the medium of rain. Two of his fair friends have left Gastein, the pleasure is past—"der Freude Blumenkranz zerrissen." The heavens have donned black mourning and weep because of this loss:

⁸¹ *Böses Wetter*, II, p. 70.

⁸² III, p. 12.

Es hat der Himmel sich mit schwarzem Flor behängt,
 Und weint in dicken, schweren Tropfen;
 So sehr man ihn mit Flehn und Bitten drängt,
 Nichts kann die Schleusen seines Zorns verstopfen.

This well characterizes our poet's general attitude toward the phenomena of wind and rain.

To the study of Grillparzer's description of nature belongs also the consideration of what I should like to call his general description. This subject, again, has two subdivisions, viz., landscapes and comparisons.

The passages which I have been able to collect for the study of Grillparzer's landscape paintings are too numerous for individual discussion at this place, so that I shall have to confine myself to those which are best adapted to and, consequently, most important for the present purpose.

On the whole, Grillparzer's landscapes show the lavish, though not wasteful hand of the painter. Very rare, therefore, is the extreme terseness of the following picture,⁸³ in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*:

Sei du erst heim in deiner dumpfen Hütte,
 Vom Meer bespült, wo rings nur Sand und Wellen
 Und trübe Wolken, die mit Regen dräun;

It will be admitted that the outlines of this picture of a lonely strand are scant enough, but the effect of the *ensemble* is far from dull. Only two significant adjectives—*dumpf* and *trübe*—which characterize the whole situation, are met by the weight of a few nouns which follow one another almost as rapidly as in direct enumeration: *Hütte, Meer, Sand, Wellen, Wolken, Regen*. One may notice the logical succession of the individual parts of the picture, which assigns the first place to the *sujet*—*Hütte*, the dwelling of Leander—then follows the *milieu*—*Meer, Sand, Wellen*—and finally the background of gloom is marked by *Wolken* and *Regen*.

Not so terse, though just as plastic, is the picture drawn in Grillparzer's Diary on his Italian Journey.⁸⁴ On reaching Sessana, the last stop before Trieste, he finds the landscape

⁸³ VII, p. 31.

⁸⁴ XIX, p. 197.

suddenly transformed into a desert. And this desert he now proceeds to describe: total absence of all signs of fertility; now and then, a solitary chestnut-tree, with withered leaves, and a few *crippled* mulberry bushes are sad reminders of what might have been. Rocks—a sea of cold, unsympathetic stone. And then the magnificent reflection which, reviewing the whole picture of utter desolation, attributes the lack of natural beauty to the curse of God. Only he who has ever beheld the distressing monotony of a vast expanse of desert land can fully appreciate the words: “Es war, als hätte Gott hier gestanden, als er nach dem Falle des Menschen den Fluch über die Erde aussprach.”

We do not look in vain for the counterpart of this picture of despair. It is drawn by the king, in *Die Jüdin von Toledo*,⁸⁸ who describes the immeasurable joy of the traveler in the Arabian desert, on finding, at last, the longed for oasis, the bountiful island of green in this endless sea of sand. No stronger contrast can be imagined than that which is here developed before our eyes, in utmost appreciation of nature's bounty:

Da blühen Blumen, winkt der Bäume Schatten,
Der Kräuter Hauch steigt mildernd in die Luft
Und wölbt sich unterm Himmel als ein zweiter.
Zwar ringelt sich die Schlange unterm Busch,
Ein reissend Tier, von gleichem Durst gequält,
Fand etwa seinen Weg zur kühlen Quelle;
Doch jubelt auch der Wanderer wegemüd,
Und saugt mit gier'gem Mund den Labetrunk
Und wirft sich in des Grases üpp'gen Wuchs.

No detail is here forgotten, though thoroughness is hardly the only merit of this description. The *sujet* of a painting must be evident from the *ensemble*, and that the present picture, even if the label *Oasis*, which Grillparzer places at the head of it (in the five lines which precede the above quotation), were lacking, would be just as intelligible and clear, needs no further argument. In addition to thoroughness and clearness, comes the painter's greatest merit: the naturalness of color

⁸⁸ IX, p. 206.

which endows the picture with such intensity of light and life. We feel the cool shade of the trees, we smell the fragrance of the herbs, and we appreciate with the weary wanderer the draught of refreshing water, as well as the rest-inviting couch of luxurious grass.

The overwhelming impression made upon Grillparzer by Mount Vesuvius is expressed in a beautiful description, almost five pages in length, in his *Diary on his Italian Journey*.⁸⁶ Well distributed, again, is the magnificent contrast of colors: green in the foothills, the higher portions, near the crater, black, set off by a deep-blue sky; glowing red the smoke at the summit, bluish-green the sea far below. No wonder that the inimitable combination of such colors aroused the greatest enthusiasm: " . . . *ich konnte während meines ganzen Aufenthalts in Neapel nicht satt werden, ihn zu betrachten und mich zu freuen.*" The hermitage at the danger-line appears to the poet like the boundary between the dominion of man and the unrestrained freedom of nature. Before crossing this boundary, which separates him from the black horror of the vast lava-fields, he turns his eyes once more to the gentle beauties of nature spread out at the base of the terrible volcano: Naples, Castell a Mare, Sorrento, Vico lie there amidst nature's charms. He bids them farewell, climbs higher and higher, until he finally stands with his feet on the superficially cooled surface of a fresh lava-stream. Instead of horror, his heart is full of enthusiasm and awe. He kneels at the throne of nature's majesty:

Habe Dank, Natur, dass es ein Land giebt, wo du heragehst aus deiner Werkeltagseschäftigkeit und dich erweisest als Götterbraut und Weltenkönigin, habe Dank! Und mir sei vergönnt, dich von Zeit zu Zeit zu schauen in deiner Majestät, wenn du mich lang genug ermüdet in deiner Alltäglichkeit!

We follow the poet still higher up, to the very side of the crater, which now begins to shower huge glowing boulders over all the surrounding country. A loftier spectacle of the power of nature is unimaginable: we feel that we are standing in the shadow of death.—The description of Mount

⁸⁶ XIX, pp. 226 ff.

Vesuvius ends almost abruptly with the climax itself which is, undoubtedly, the death-bringing crater; almost nothing at all is said about the following descent. This is not due, however, to the fact that the night had meantime come, but to the well-planned purpose of the poet. The entire picture of the great mountain is unfolded before us, as a panorama is unrolled by a cinematograph. We follow the various stages until the climax is reached, and here Grillparzer deliberately cuts the film in order to keep our attention concentrated upon the all-inspiring grandeur of nature.

Grillparzer's landscapes, in so far as they represent the reflection of impressions gained on travels abroad, are full of life, color and enthusiasm, but they are not the best which his hand was able to draw. Foglar remarks justly:⁸⁷ "The first and last, from which Grillparzer always derived the greatest pleasure, was and remained his immediate home-territory. Here were the very roots of his existence, and everything appeared glorified by his most faithful love for Austria." The patriot Grillparzer surpassed himself in his unusually plastic pictures of his own native land. Some of these need our attention. Primislaus⁸⁸ points in enthusiastic language to the beautifully situated bed of the Moldau River. He likens the river itself to the main artery of the whole country (Bohemia), the source of blood and life. The rich fertility of the surrounding country, and its mineral wealth, are to be inferred from the proposal of Primislaus to build ships on which the Moldau will carry

des Landes Überfluss

An Frucht, an Korn, an Silber und an Gold,

far beyond the Austrian border, to the distant sea.

The two best Austrian landscapes are contained in the ultra-Austrian tragedy *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*. One of these⁸⁹ is drawn by Emperor Rudolf himself, when he calls his son's attention to the fact that he has now, for the first time, set foot on Austrian soil. It is a description of the March-field on which Ottokar was to meet his fate. Rudolf calls it a splendid battle-field. This, however, is only inci-

⁸⁷ P. 85.

⁸⁸ *Libussa*, VIII, p. 263.

⁸⁹ VI, p. 133.

dental. The true purpose of a field is fertility, but fertility presupposes peace. Hence Rudolf's advice to his first-born, to devote himself to the maintenance of peace. The sight of the March-River intensifies this picture of peaceful fertility, while in the distance, "wo noch Nebel ringt," loom up the dim outlines of the great city of Vienna, with the fair Danube, a personification of Austria's wealth and power.—The other picture⁹⁰ is contained in Horneck's report to Emperor Rudolf, concerning the unjustified incarceration of his Lord, by Ottokar. Only an Austrian can paint a picture of Austria with such glowing colors; however, we are far from reproaching the poet for his patriotic partiality, and we are concerned here solely with the consideration of descriptive beauty. The painting speaks for itself:

Schaut rings umher, wohin der Blick sich wendet,
Lacht's wie dem Bräutigam die Braut entgegen.
Mit hellem Wiesengrün und Saatengold,
Von Lein und Safran gelb und blau gestickt,
Von Blumen süß durchwürzt und edlem Kraut,
Schweift es in breitgestreckten Tälern hin—
Ein voller Blumenstrauss, so weit es reicht,
Vom Silberband der Donau rings umwunden—
Hebt sich's empor zu Hügeln voller Wein,
Wo auf und auf die goldne Traube hängt
Und schwellend reift in Gottes Sonnenglanze;
Der dunkle Wald voll Jagdlust krönt das Ganze,
Und Gottes lauer Hauch schwebt drüber hin
Und wärmt und reift und macht die Pulse schlagen,
Wie nie ein Puls auf kalten Steppen schlägt.

So dazzling a display of colors—*grün, gold, gelb, blau, silbern*—cannot be found again in any other of the poet's landscapes. The whole represents, as he expressly states, *einen vollen Blumenstrauss*. Nuptial joy is spread out over this inimitable picture; love here rules supreme:

Und Gottes lauer Hauch schwebt drüber hin.

Grillparzer's ideas concerning poetry apparently make comparisons of subjects under discussion, with nature, a matter of

⁹⁰ VI, pp. 86, 87.

course. This accounts, perhaps, for the abundance of such comparisons a selection of which only can be considered here.

Like Heine, Grillparzer compares the characteristics of his sweetheart with those of a flower. His lyric language is not as simple and as fluent as that of the author of *Du bist wie eine Blume*, but his pictures are often just as bold:

Dass dein Kleid rosenrot,
Find' ich recht fein,
Kann's, wo der Gürtel schliesst,
Anders wohl sein?
Denn wo im Lenz ich sah
Knöspchen am Rain
Gaben sie ähnlichen
Blassroten Schein.⁸¹

In the same poem, Grillparzer likens the eyes of his beloved to forget-me-nots, and her blond hair to the bright yellow of a maturing cornfield. In the poem *Begegnung*,⁸² the countenance of the adored woman recalls roses,

. . . aber nicht wie rote,
Wie weisser Rosen Schmelz im Morgentau,

and her beautiful gray eyes are bathed in dew. Her lips exhale the fragrance of flowers.—Individual beauty of woman is also expressed by means of individual flowers. This is done by Naukleros,⁸³ who, in speaking of the multitude of maidens that crowded about him and Leander, in Aphrodite's temple, distinguishes

. . . bunte Blumen,
So Ros' als Nelke, Tulpe, Veilchen, Lilie—
Ein Gänseblümchen auch wohl ab und zu—

Not only beauty, but also youth is often compared with flowers. *Eurer Jugend Blumenzeit*, says Jaqueline to Blanka;⁸⁴ Medea complains that Jason's ambition has killed *die schönen Blüten von dem Jugendbaum*,⁸⁵ and, in the same passage, she pleads with him to turn back once more to the beautiful time of youth and love:

⁸¹ *Huldigungen*, II, pp. 30, 31.

⁸² II, p. 36.

⁸³ VII, p. 33.

⁸⁴ X, p. 29.

⁸⁵ V, p. 191.

Nur einen Schritt komm in die schöne Zeit,
Da wir in unsrer Jugend frischem Grünen
Uns fanden an des Phasis Blumenstrand.

The period of youth and happiness, free from care and danger, is, likewise, characterized by Medea's sarcastic words addressed to her innocent and inexperienced rival Kreusa. The early part of life is here compared with a tiny boat drifting stream-downward, and Kreusa, the youthful occupant of the craft, clings *an des Ufers Blütenzweigen*.⁹⁶—In a description of the virginal beauty of youth given by Phaon,⁹⁷ the same idea reoccurs, the fair form of Sappho having made upon him the impression of *Blumenhügel*.

Life itself is frequently called a tree. The best example, perhaps, for the poetic use of this metaphor is contained in Blanka's life-weary words:⁹⁸

O lass mich sterben! An dem Baum des Lebens
Ist mir im Keim ersticket jede Frucht,
Soll traurig ich die welken Blätter sammeln,
Bis sie der Tod von dürren Ästen schüttelt?
Gib mir den Tod, Allgütiger! den Tod!
Des Lebens Freuden hast du mir genommen,
So nimm denn auch dies kahle Leben hin!

The majority of other references merely speak of "Der Baum des Lebens"; the above quotation represents one of two passages in which the picture is fully drawn. The other may be found in the poem *Einem Soldaten*.⁹⁹

To mention all the comparisons with nature which Grillparzer used would lead too far; a booklet, one half the size of Henkel's *Das Goethesche Gleichnis*, Halle, 1886, might easily be filled with a treatment of Grillparzer's metaphors, and details would be more in order there than here. For my present purpose a few indications must suffice.

In the poem *Worte des Abschieds*,¹⁰⁰ Grillparzer compares the voice of the Muses with the *Chor der Sphären*, the music of nature, which is intelligible only to the thorough student,

⁹⁶ V, p. 147.

⁹⁷ X, p. 192.

⁹⁸ III, pp. 24, 25.

⁹⁹ IV, p. 147.

¹⁰⁰ II, p. 140.

while the beginner misinterprets what he hears. On the other hand, the three Muses who favored our poet most (Melpomene, Terpsichore and Euterpe), made him feel the necessity of selecting a place where the natural surroundings would be most suitable. The poem *Wenn der Vogel singen will* . . . ¹⁰¹ shows us Grillparzer in search of such a place. The birds are here made bearers of the ideas of music and poetry:

Wenn der Vogel singen will,
Sucht er einen Ast,
Nur die Lerche trägt beim Sang
Eigne leichte Last.
Doch der Fink, die Nachtigall,
Selbst der muntre Spatz,
Wählen, eh die Kehle tönt,
Für den Fuss den Platz.
Gebt mir, wo ich stehen soll,
Weist mir ein Gebiet,
Und ich will euch wohl erfreu'n
Noch mit manchem Lied.

In Germany rules storm and stress, in Austria *dunkelt's tief* and there is oppression from the clergy (*Dohlen schwarz*), ignorance among the bureaucracy (*Kauz und Eule*), nonsensical talk on the part of critics (*Staarmatz*), while the people at large (*Frösche*) show the traditional lack of intelligent appreciation. No wonder that Grillparzer does not know in which direction to turn:

Und so schweb' ich ew'gen Flugs
Zwischen Erd' und Luft,
Und kein Platz dem müden Fuss,
Als dereinst die Gruft.

Very impressive is also the comparison of the soothing notes which, coming from the chapel where the funeral rites are held over the body of Count Borotin, penetrate the very soul of the patricide Jaromir, while silver swans glide softly over a troubled sea:¹⁰²

Säuselt, säuselt, holde Töne,
Säuselt lieblich um mich her,

¹⁰¹ II, pp. 44, 45.

¹⁰² IV, p. 115.

Sanft und weich, wie Silberschwäne
Über ein bewegtes Meer.
Schüttelt eure weichen Schwingen,
Träufelt Balsam auf dies Herz,
Lasst die Himmelslieder klingen,
Einzuschläfern meinen Schmerz.

III .

GRILLPARZER'S INTERPRETATION OF NATURE

While, in the preceding chapter, I was concerned to show the range and character of Grillparzer's feeling for nature; what aspects of the outer world appealed to him most, and how this appeal is poetically denoted; the present chapter will be concerned more with the meaning of nature's message: in other words, with Grillparzer's interpretation of nature's voices, and his attitude toward nature as a whole. It is true that description and interpretation interblend more or less, so that it is not possible to keep them entirely apart; nevertheless, the distinction can be made in a rough way, and the present chapter is thus devoted to the consideration of those passages on the basis of which one may study the poet's philosophy of nature.

An analysis of Grillparzer's interpretation of nature is not a speculative matter, necessitating to read between the lines or to seek for some cryptic significance; on the contrary, the poet's language is at all times clear and free from disturbing circumlocutions.¹ Thus it is possible to base all conclusions upon actual facts rather than upon a number of loosely connected hypotheses.

In the first place, a multitude of passages show that, for Grillparzer, nature is not a mechanism but a conscious being. With him, all nature represents a living, feeling, and thinking personality. Nothing nature may do bears the least resemblance to the thoughtless indifference and mechanicalness with which many human beings perform their assigned tasks. In nature, then, there is, at all times, a pronounced consciousness

¹ Compare with this statement the words of Ehrhard, *Le Théâtre en Autriche*, Paris, 1900, p. 115: "His (Grillparzer's) lyric works have not the ingenuous charm or the transparent form of Goethe's *Lieder* or ballads. Although full of emotion, they reveal a certain painfulness and calculation, which at times culminate in obscurity."

of purpose, from which alone may spring her joy of living. Most keen is nature's ambition in the early hours of morning when, with a new day, begins new activity, new life, new joy. The sun *knows* what he is doing as he pours his red light over the tree-tops, the bushes become *alive* with the song of birds, even grass and foliage reflect new energy in the nightly dew which the morning-sun has not yet been able to remove, and the lark sings a *herzerhebend Jubellied*.²

Und alles wacht und lebt und freut sich seines Lebens.

The mere consciousness of being light, *i. e.*, beauty, is not sufficient to satisfy the sun, but coupled with it is the realization of the function of light.³ Consciousness of purpose, now, results in calm contentment with the circumstances in which nature lives: her path lies outlined before her, and her duty is a source of pleasure, rather than of misery. This idea is set forth in the poem *Pflanzenwelt*.⁴ The same poem shows also that nature's heart knows nothing of envy. The fragrance of the rose thus fails to fill the lofty oak with shame, and the rose itself continues to fulfil *its* purpose, undisturbed by the fact that it has nothing to give but fragrance, while a sloe-tree, in its immediate neighborhood, is laden down with fruit. The importance, according to Grillparzer, lies with the genus rather than with the species, with the cause itself rather than with the effect. Or, as Bertha significantly expresses it:⁵

Schmetterlinge, bunte Gaukler,
Die die keusche Rose küssen,
Aber nicht, weil sie die *Rose*,
Weil sie eine *Blume* ist.

Another phase of nature's consciousness is her obedience to law. Nature is thus aware of the eternal law by which it is governed, and it at all times obeys the law. This law of nature, which Kascha⁶ calls *Nötigung*, is universal, wise, unchangeable, and ever-valid. Without law there is anarchy and chaos. The Rhine, therefore (cf. the poem *Diplomatisch*)⁷ obediently follows the path which God (nature) has mapped out; the

² *Wer ist schuldig?*, X, p. 237.

³ *Treuer Diener*, VI, p. 211.

⁴ IV, p. 48.

⁵ I, p. 174.

⁶ VIII, p. 169.

⁷ II, p. 102.

river is conscious of the consequences which would arise from disobedience:

Denn ohne Ufer wär' er Überschwemmung,
Ein greulich Mittelding von See und Sumpf,
Aus dem die Sonne feuchte Nebel zieht,
Von Unken nur bewohnt und ihrer Brut.

According to this law, nature is ever new, because the process of reproduction is constantly going on. Every spring brings a fresh supply of foliage, and this takes the place of last year's foliage which is now a matter of the past: Πάντα ῥεῖ. Individual strength is most essential for him who deserves to remain on the surface of this rapidly flowing stream: the weak must perish in order to make room for the development of their superiors in endurance and vitality: the survival of the fittest is a physical necessity. In *Jugenderinnerungen im Grünen*⁸ Grillparzer alludes to this law.

The law of nature, now, embodies not only physical, but also economic, logical and moral principles. Grillparzer does not neglect any of these, but rather than mention them as parts of the law, he assigns a place to them as components of nature's personality. The economic character of nature is emphasized in various places. Nature herself represents wealth. This wealth is safe in the hands of nature, because she is a thrifty manager who distributes it wisely and fairly. A lavish expenditure, carefully noted on one page of her ledger, is balanced, on the other, by conscientious economy. So in *Fortschrittsmänner*.⁹

Allein bedenkt doch! Die Natur ist sparsam
Mit Gleichem, seit dem Anfang hält sie Haus,
Was allzuviel, nimmt 'rück sie in Gewahrsam
Und gleicht durch Kargheit die Verschwendung aus.

On the other hand, nature's thoroughness is a safeguard against losses. All she undertakes is finished and complete.

The infallible logic and consistency of nature is referred to with almost exactly the same words. It is impossible for nature to contradict herself (cf. *Sappho* and *Blanka*),¹⁰ for

⁸ I, p. 229.

⁹ II, p. 205.

¹⁰ IV, p. 183, and X, p. 186.

the very reason that nature is embodied truth. This is poetically expressed by Gregor (*Weh dem, der lügt!*):¹¹

Wahr ist die ganze kreisende Natur;
 Wahr ist der Wolf, der brüllt, eh er verschlingt,
 Wahr ist der Donner, drohend, wenn es blitzt,
 Wahr ist die Flamme, die von fern schon sengt,
 Die Wasserflut, die heulend Wirbel schlägt;
 Wahr sind sie, weil sie sind, weil Dasein Wahrheit.

Here lies the great contrast between nature and man, between God and his fallen image. Rudolf (*Bruderzwist*),¹² as well as Pedro (*Blanka*),¹³ deplore the sad condition of affairs which leaves such an abyss between the lofty path of the god-head and the crooked road of cunning and deception trodden by the erring foot of man.

The logical element leads over directly to the moral. The conscious choice of truth, in preference to untruth, is one of nature's many virtues. The heart of nature is true and pure! A pure heart, now, shudders at the thought of evil, and is horrified by depravity. So Jaromir¹⁴ is obliged to continue on his terrible path of wanton bloodshed, in spite of nature's revolt, and the mere sight of Don Pedro's¹⁵ wretched counselors causes nature to shrink away in horror. Only he who is free from sin has the right to cast the first stone. Nature, therefore, is entitled to the privilege of avenging wrong. She is the power to which man appeals in the moment of extreme agony, when he realizes his own helplessness. "*Von euch, ihr Kraniche dort oben*," Schiller's Ibykus exclaims, and Grillparzer's Phryxus¹⁶ expresses exactly the same idea when he appeals to the thunder of the gods, to wreak vengeance upon his faithless host:

So treffe dich der Götter Donnerfluch,
 Der über dem rollt, der die Treue bricht.

Nature herself, however, does not look upon the act of vengeance as a pleasurable privilege, but as a duty; and in the performance of duty she is pitiless and unrestrainable. It

¹¹ VIII, p. 12.

¹² X, p. 103.

¹³ X, p. 113.

¹⁴ IX, p. 25.

¹⁵ IV, p. 119.

¹⁶ V, p. 30.

falls to Leander's lot to make this sad experience, and Hero¹⁷ calls attention to the plight of her swimming lover, in his futile struggle against the raging elements. In vain is his appeal to the sympathy of nature; sea, storm and darkness unite for his destruction; nature loses heart, ear and eye, in this lofty combat between right and wrong. Leander must pay the penalty for his guilt. This avenging rôle of nature is evident also indirectly from the method pursued by her in making wrong visible, for the protection of right. We have to deal here with the mark of Cain, by means of which nature desires to warn and frighten:

Mit blut'ger Flammenschrift hat die Natur
Auf deinem Antlitz "Mörder" dich gescholten.

With these significant words Fedriko¹⁸ shows that he is aware of Haro's character, and that he divines the latter's gloomy mission. At times, the very aspect of nature may frighten the evil-doer and make him drop his nefarious schemes. This causes Medea, who has once before yielded to the unrighteous demand of her father, to refuse him obedience a second time. Even though this refusal be only temporary—Aietes finally wins her over by proving to her that the lives of himself and Absyrtus are at stake—Medea's wavering sufficiently establishes the point:¹⁹

Glaubst du, ich könnt's, ich vermöcht' es?
Hundertmal hab' ich aufgeblickt
Zu den glänzenden Zeichen
Am Firmament der Nacht,
Und alle hundert Male
Sanken meine Blicke,
Von Schreck getroffen, unbelehrt,
Es schien der Himmel mir ein aufgerolltes Buch,
Und *Mord* darauf geschrieben, tausendfach,
Und *Rache* mit demantnen Lettern
Auf seinem schwarzen Grund.

Grillparzer appears to be extremely careful to make the interpretation of nature as a moral power as complete as possible. A being with the consciousness of right and wrong,

¹⁷ VII, p. 95.

¹⁸ X, p. 133.

¹⁹ V, p. 41.

without ever doing wrong, cannot be devoid of the sense of justice. Nature, therefore, is called *blind*,²⁰ and her ideal impartiality is emphasized in *Blanka*.²¹ Rich and poor, king and beggar, find like favor in nature's eyes, and the fairest gift which she has bestowed upon all, without discrimination, is the very reflection of her ideal goodness which appears in man as *reine Menschlichkeit*:

Der schöne Name Mensch, den die Natur
Dem Bettler wie dem König gütig gab,
Den schönsten, den sie ihnen geben konnte.²²

Again, Grillparzer looks upon nature as the visible personification of the ideas of eternity and freedom. Only the deity rules forever—the law of nature is ever the same. What a contrast, therefore, between nature and man who is constantly changing in accordance with the circumstances.

So wandellos, sich gleich ist die Natur,
So wandelbar der Mensch und sein Geschick,

says Medea,²³ while Scipio,²⁴ boasting of the regularity of the Roman machinery of state, likens it to the perpetuity of nature:

Vom Wechsel frei und unaufhaltsam, wie
Der Wesen Kreis im Umschwung der Natur,
Geht unsers Staates immer kreisend Rad;
Das Einzelne wird wohl erwägt, das Ganze—
Wie Winter sich und Sommer, Herbst und Lenz
Mit Sturm und Sonne, Herbst und Blüte folgen—
Bleibt sich in ewig gleichen Bahnen gleich.

In numerous passages, nature appears as the idea of freedom. This alone is an inspiration to the poet who, like a bird in the cage, is unable to sing,²⁵ unless he shares the freedom of nature. This freedom, the *breath of nature*, in Rustan's

²⁰ *Die Tänzerin*, III, p. 21.

²¹ X, p. 155:

Die Macht zum Grossen kommt von innen, und
Parteiisch hat nie die Natur geteilt;
Es blüht in jedes Menschen stolzer Brust
Die Zeugen der Gottähnlichkeit.

²² X, p. 45.

²³ *Hannibal*, XII, p. 130.

²⁴ V, p. 217.

²⁵ II, p. 175.

language,²⁶ is "the mother of all," the uplifting influence of the universe, and only he who is free is capable of an intelligent appreciation of nature.²⁷ Without freedom, nature is an impossibility: the very roots of nature's strength are planted in this precious soil, and they will suffer no interference. The young pine-tree will break the yoke imposed by human hands, and the unfortunate plant grown in the hot-house²⁸ betrays by its pallor the nearness of death. An attempt to pacify the roaring of the wind, and to subdue the mighty upheaval of the sea²⁹ is a ridiculous exhibition of human frailty, for nature is free, *knows* freedom, and claims it as her privilege. Woe unto him who dares encroach upon her sacred rights:

Denn der Natur allher notwend'ge Mächte,
Sie hassen, was sich freie Bahnen zieht,
Als vorenthalten ihrem ew'gen Rechte,
Und reissen's lauernd in ihr Machtgebiet.³⁰

To the poet belongs all nature. Not only a part of the god-head, but God Himself:

Wo warst du denn, als man die Welt geteilet?
Ich war, sprach der Poet, bei dir.³¹

Thus all nature is, for Grillparzer, not only an inspiration of poetry, but rather poetry itself. This makes nature an end, not a means, and nature and poetry become inseparable. There is poetry in a landscape, in a waterfall, in a tree which has been set aflame by lightning, in the fragrance of flowers, and in the chorus of the birds. Nature speaks in rhythmic language, and all the poet has to do is to transcribe the voice of nature, not imitate it. Grillparzer faithfully recorded what he saw and heard, and thus his nature-poetry is the result of his communication with nature. The wonderful interpretation of nature's voice in the poem *Am Hügel*,³² is so clear that further comment seems unnecessary:

O Hügel! sanft von Steinen aufgeschichtet,
Die saftig Gras und Alpenmoos umzieht,

²⁶ VII, p. 174.

²⁷ *Nachruf*, II, p. 71.

²⁸ I, p. 129.

²⁹ I, p. 143.

³⁰ *Klosterscene*, I, p. 202.

³¹ *Blanka*, X, p. 47.

³² Schiller, *Teilung der Erde*.

Von deinem Haupt ein Baum emporgerichtet,
 An dem die Vogelbeere glüht;
 Indes am Fuss, in buntgemischter Reihe,
 Der Schwarzbeer' dunkle Frucht und helles Kraut,
 Hoch überragt von Weidrichs Veilchenbläue,
 Dir einen Thron, sich eine Freistatt baut;
 Wie schön blickst du herab von deiner Höhe,
 Wie würdig stellst du dich dem Auge dar!
 Der Wanderer steht entzückt in deiner Nähe,
 Und sucht beinah nach Weihort und Altar.
 Gewiss auch, rollten noch die alten Zeiten,
 Da unentzweit der Gott und die Natur,
 Ein Schutzgott würde hier sich Sitz bereiten,
 Wo Gräser jetzt, hilflose Blumen nur.
 Doch, da ich solches kaum gewagt zu denken,
 Straft Lügen mich ein schauerndes Gefühl;
 Ich fühle Geister sich herniedersenken,
 Und mich umlispeln in der Winde Spiel.
 Erinnerung kommt, der stillvertraute Zeuge
 Von dem, was einst das Glück mir hier verlieh.
 Und wie geschlossnen Augs ich mich hinüberneige,
 An ihrer Hand die Poesie.

Let us now consider Grillparzer's feeling for *Solitude*. On this subject we get light from what he says of Rousseau in his *Studien zur Literatur*.⁸⁸ Rousseau is there characterized as the egotist par excellence, whose every thought and act centers around his own person, and who seeks solitude only "because there only did he find the only thing of interest to him in all the world, viz., himself, his thoughts, his emotions!" Grillparzer then goes on to show that Rousseau, notwithstanding his own opinion in this matter, was ruled by his thoughts rather than by his feelings, by his intellect rather than by his heart. Such a condition, especially in solitude, has fatal results according to Grillparzer:

Wenn man sich seinen Gedanken, zumal in der Einsamkeit, ganz hingibt, so verschlingen sie die ganze Welt, nähren sich mit allem, was darin für sie geniessbar ist, und bleiben zuletzt allein mit dem, der sie trägt, in einer wesens- und freudenlosen Wüste.

⁸⁸ XVI, pp. 131 ff.

The egotistic attitude of Rousseau toward the world could find no echo of understanding, to say nothing of approval, with a man who, like Grillparzer, was *all* heart, *all* feeling. And yet, Grillparzer calls himself the brother of Rousseau; like Jason, he feels "Voll Selbstheit, nicht des Nutzens, doch des Sinnes." As a matter of fact, Grillparzer's interpretation of solitude has little resemblance to that of Rousseau. There is no relation whatever between the two men, in spite of the *fraternal* allusion mentioned above. The satire which Grillparzer's Mephistopheles pours over Rousseau's doctrine best expresses the poet's personal attitude in the matter:²⁴

Muss doch ein wenig spionieren,
Wo mein vertrackter Doktor ist,
Der nach Rousseau auf allen Vieren
Hier unter dieses Waldes Tieren
Des Glücks, ein Mensch zu sein, genießt
Und Wasser säuft und Eicheln frisst.

And in the same passage we hear Faust complain that solitude has not bestowed upon him those blessings which he expected—rest and peace:

O Einsamkeit, wie hast du mich betrogen,
Als ich an deinen stillen Busen floh,
Du hast mir Ruh und Friede vorgelogen,
Und ach! nun find' ich dich nicht so!

This passage can be interpreted only in the light of the preceding one: Grillparzer here means that one who seeks solitude, as Rousseau did, will not derive the satisfaction which would be his if he went solely with the purpose of being in direct communication with nature herself. Like Rousseau, Grillparzer is fond of seclusion, but his love of solitude is a matter of his soul, not of his intellect, and his appreciation of the beauty of solitude springs, therefore, from an entirely different source. The conscious longing for solitude on Grillparzer's part lies in his character—the poet is melancholy; hostile to the noisy pleasures of society; full of fantastic dreams, and hence often uncommunicative; endowed with the vibrating nerves of a musician which are easily unbalanced. On the other hand, the

²⁴ *Faust*, XI, p. 255, 256.

poet's longing for solitude is, to a certain extent, also the result of his personal experiences: like a haven of rest and safety seem to the misunderstood, wronged and persecuted poet the arms of solitude. His anxiety to be alone with nature arises from causes similar to those which make Lord Byron seek solitude, but while Byron is fond of solitary communion with nature when the latter is in an angry mood, Grillparzer prefers the quiet of solitude; and, unlike Rousseau who would wander about aimlessly, unconcerned whether he would find his way back or not,⁸⁶ Grillparzer is, at times, overcome with fear that he has ventured too far beyond the realm of man; blindly he has followed the muse to a lofty height which the voice of the world can hardly reach:

Halt ein, Unselige! Halt ein!
 Wohin verlockst du mich?
 Über Berge bin ich gekommen,
 Durch Schlünde dir gefolgt.
 Kein Pfad ist, wo ich trete, keine Spur,
 Fern herauf tönt der Menschen Stimme,
 Tönt der Herden fröhliches Geläut'
 Und des Waldbachs Rauschen.⁸⁷

Generally, however, Grillparzer finds in solitude what he longs for: rest, quiet, happiness. Phaon's words⁸⁷ well express the deep significance which Grillparzer attaches to quiet solitude:

Wohl mir! Hier ist es still. Des Gastmahls Jubel,
 Der Zimbelspieler Lärm, der Flöten Töne,
 Der losgelassenen Freude lautes Regen,
 Es tönt nicht bis hier unter diese Bäume,
 Die, leise flüsternd, wie besorgt, zu stören,
 Zu einsamer Betrachtung freundlich laden.

This preference for solitude is the only trait which Sappho and Phaon have in common, but even here there is a contrast between the two, caused by the difference in purpose which guides either along the path of loneliness. Phaon seeks soli-

⁸⁶ Cf. Rousseau, ed. Hachette, VIII, p. 116: "Un jour entre autres, m'étant à dessein détourné pour voir de près un lieu qui me parut admirable, je m'y plus si fort et j'y fis tant de tours que je me perdis enfin tout-à-fait."

⁸⁷ *Die tragische Muse*, I, p. 159.

⁸⁸ IV, p. 156.

tude because he loves—Melitta, while Sappho's longing is prompted by the needs of genius: *Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille*.³⁸ In Sappho, Grillparzer shows not only the relation between poetry and reality, between genius and man, but in establishing this relation, he permits us at the same time to look deep into his own tormented heart. Sappho expresses Grillparzer's own feelings when, overcome by disappointment and despair, she would rather be banished into the solitude of nature *with* the belief in Phaon's love than continue life in her present surroundings, where Phaon's treachery brought such unspeakable misery upon her. With rough hands Phaon has severed the relations between genius and man, and the realization of his own position overcomes Grillparzer when he lets Rhamnes word Sappho's epitaph thus:³⁹

Es war auf Erden ihre Heimat nicht.
Sie ist zurückgekehret zu den Ihren.

Medea, also, seeks solitude, but although, like Sappho, she is prompted to flee the world because of despair, she is lashed into the closest possible communion with nature by the furies of her guilty conscience:⁴⁰

Mich sende zurück
In das Innre des Landes, Vater,
Tief, wo nur Wälder und dunkles Geklüft,
Wo kein Auge hindringt, kein Ohr, keine Stimme,
Wo nur die Einsamkeit und ich.

What does Medea seek in this dark wilderness where she may be alone with herself and with nature? She seeks the godhead in its very temple, because only in solitude is it possible to worship nature. And that is Medea's aim. She is anxious to prostrate herself before the deity, to confess and to obtain absolution. The same comfort and blessing which she here expects from solitude actually comes to her later when fair pictures of long-forgotten happiness, pictures of the beloved home of her childhood-days, bring a smile of relief to her sorrowful countenance upon which is already engraved the somber determination to murder her own blood.⁴¹

³⁸ Goethe, *Tasso*.
³⁹ V, p. 81.

⁴⁰ IV, p. 227.
⁴¹ V, p. 217.

Willkommen, holde, freundliche Gestalten,
Sucht ihr mich heim in meiner Einsamkeit?

In solitude, then, our imagination develops greater activity and our heart is purified because of the immediate contact with nature—God. Solitude opens the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf. We not only see the beauty of nature, but we also hear her voice. Thus Hero⁴² converses with the echo, and the gentle splashing of the waves of the Hellespont beneath her brings her a whispered message. In this close contact with nature, Hero feels confident,⁴³ the strength necessary for performing her sacred function will return to her.

The influence of solitude upon character is described by Drahomira,⁴⁴ who attributes the filial affection of her younger child to the fact that he was brought up *fern von der Menschen Aufenthalt*, in close communion with nature. For him it is impossible to forget the laws of nature, and to turn against his own mother, like the first-born son. Nursed at nature's very bosom, he has imbibed the divine lesson (which, by the way, is not Christian!)

zu hassen, wer ihn hasst,
Und wer ihm wohlthut, den zu lieben.

Man has, at all times, been attracted by that which he is unable to grasp, and which he can, therefore, only divine. This mystic element, which forms part of every religion, is consequently closely associated with nature by any person who undertakes a pantheistic interpretation of nature. That Grillparzer is one of these has appeared from the preceding discussion of a number of passages, especially from those which interpret nature as the moral ideal, but the matter may become more firmly established by these lines which are intended to show Grillparzer's attitude toward the mystic forces of nature. This subject is of no little importance for the understanding of his nature-cult.

From his early youth on, the poet's imagination fed upon the mysteries of nature, which he connected with his immediate surroundings. In his *Autobiography*⁴⁵ we read:

⁴² VII, p. 50.

⁴⁴ XI, p. 114.

⁴³ VII, p. 47.

⁴⁵ XIX, p. 14.

. . . Da war denn der Gebote und Verbote kein Ende, und an ein Herumlaufen ohne Aufsicht war gar nicht zu denken. Besonders hatte der der Gartenmauer zugekehrte hintere Rand des Teiches, der nie betreten wurde, für mich etwas höchst Mysteriöses, und ohne etwas Bestimmtes dabei zu denken, verlegte ich unter die breiten Lattichblätter und dichten Gesträuche alle die Schauer und Geheimnisse, mit denen in unsrer Stadtwohnung das "Holzgewölbe" bevölkert war.

This can mean nothing else than that the *Ahnung* of the inexplicable, of the divine in nature, had entered his heart even at this early stage of life. The *Ahnung* subsequently grows into consciousness, and this consciousness appears not infrequently in his works, although, with the exception of *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* and *Medea*, the references are mostly distributed among the earlier dramas. It is interesting to observe that Grillparzer's mystic interpretation of nature centers, in the main, in water and darkness (night).

The mystic force in water which brings destruction to man (mythologically personified as water-nix, mermaid, etc.) is expressed in the poem *Herkules und Hylas*:⁴⁶

Denn, als den Krug in emsigen Händen,
Übergebengt in den spiegelnden See,
Er am Ufer schöpfend gestanden,
Hab' es gequollen vom Grund in die Höh—
Glänzende Stirn' und Augen und Wangen
Und zwei Hände, von denen umfassen,
Hylas versank in dem wallenden See.

And the unknown power which stirs up the sea and which causes all nature to tremble, is referred to in the following metaphor, in *Spartakus*:⁴⁷

Ein unergründet, tief bewegtes Meer
Ist dieses Wilden seltsam fremdes Wesen;
Du siehst die Wellen an einander rauschen
Und an des Himmels, an des Orkus Toren
Mit ungestümen Häuptionen wechselnd pochen,
Mit aufgesperstem, schwarzem Schreckensrachen
Was sich ihm zagend naht, wild verschlingen;
Doch was des Sturmes Toben aufgeregt,

⁴⁶ II, p. 38.

⁴⁷ XI, p. 135.

Die Macht, die mit gewalt'ger Riesenfaust
 Die Wasser, die geruhig schlummerten,
 Aufschreckt und ballt und durch die Lüfte schleudert,
 Dass drob die Erde bebt, die Winde heulen,
 Das liegt verborgen in den dunkeln Tiefen,
 Und keines Menschen Aug hat es erspäht.

Night, on the other hand, is mystically interpreted because of the concomitant idea of darkness, which breeds horror. So the priest, in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*:⁴⁸

Komm mit! Es sinkt die Nacht
 Und brütet über ungeschehne Dinge.

More at length, Drahomira⁴⁹ dwells upon the same idea:

Noch deckt die Nacht mit dunkeln Drachenfittich
 Die stillen Räume der entschlafnen Erde,
 Und brütet über schwarzen Greuelthaten,
 Die sie, entschlüpft dem mütterlichen Ei,
 Mit Blut nährt und mit Fleisch von Menschenleichen.

And Bertha⁵⁰ intensifies the description of the horror of night by conceiving the howling winds as *Nachtgespenster*, thus mystically personifying the voice of nature. However, this voice does not always inspire horror, but is often gently soothing and comforting. Night, darkness, is the most auspicious place for the mysterious voice of the godhead: no one knows this better than Hero's uncle, the priest, hence his advice to her:⁵¹

Ich riet dir oft, in still verborgner Nacht
 Zu nahen unsrer Göttin Heiligtum
 Und dort zu lauschen auf die leisen Stimmen,
 Mit denen wohl das Überird'sche spricht.

This mystic manifestation of the deity favored by the cover of night is referred to also by Phaon;⁵² only in this instance the lips of nature breathe words of love:

Nur ich stand schweigend auf und ging hinaus
 Ins einsam stille Reich der heil'gen Nacht.

⁴⁸ VII, p. 89.

⁴⁹ IV, p. 15.

⁵⁰ IV, p. 146.

⁵¹ XI, p. 117.

⁵² VII, p. 13.

Dort, an den Pulsen der süß schlummernden Natur,
In ihres Zaubers magisch-mächt'gen Kreisen,
Da breitet' ich die Arme nach dir aus.

A magic-mystic veil is spread over the figure of Medea in whom I have attempted to show a personification of darkness and night.

Des Nachts aber geht sie gespenstisch hervor,
says Absyrtus⁵³ with regard to his sister, and the art itself which Medea practises is mystic: mystic-black, therefore, are also all her attributes, as well as the place where she dwells. Medea thus holds in her hands a black staff, and her retreat is "a somber den, in the interior of a tower." She is Mysticism personified. The forces of nature not only obey her, but also speak *through* her. In Medea's mother I see Nature herself. This accounts for Medea's mysterious endowment, to which the weak Aietes appeals for help:⁵⁴

Du bist klug, du bist stark,
Dich hat die Mutter gelehrt
Aus Kräutern, aus Steinen
Tränke bereiten,
Die den Willen binden
Und fesseln die Kraft;
Du rufst Geister
Und besprichst den Mond.
Hilf mir, mein gutes Kind.

Mystic, also, is Medea's language. When she calls upon the forces of nature at her command, her conjuring formula is worded thus:⁵⁵

Die ihr einhergeht im Gewande der Nacht
Und auf des Sturmes Fittichen wandelt!
Furchtbare Fürsten der Tiefe! . . .
Erscheinet! Erscheinet!

When she offers the poisoned draught to Jason,⁵⁶ she takes care to mention the various ingredients. Mystic is the potion itself, and mystic, therefore, must be its result—death!:

⁵³ V, p. 35.
⁵⁵ V, p. 51.

⁵⁴ V. p. 14.
⁵⁶ V, p. 108.

Den Becher hier nimm!
 Vom Honig des Berges,
 Vom Tau der Nacht
 Und der Milch der Wölfin
 Braust darin gegoren ein Trank.

Medea, as personification of Mysticism, has a tragic fate, and her very guilt is based upon her magic-mystic power. Symbolically, this might mean that Grillparzer condemned mysticism from a rationalistic viewpoint. However, this is somewhat hypothetical. On the other hand, if this could be proven, it would furnish a valuable suggestion for the development of the idea of mysticism in Grillparzer's mind, for the following fact would then be obvious: he condemns in 1820 (*Das goldene Vlies*), what he had sanctioned in 1818 (*Sappho*), while he returns to his original views regarding mysticism in 1831 (*Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*). However this may be, one point is certain: the sources of information for the study of Grillparzer's mystic interpretation of nature are sufficiently rich in his earlier works, while the supply grows scant as the poet grows older. This needs to be emphasized, because the same is not true, so far as references to nature are concerned, which may be found everywhere.

To appeal to nature for sympathy, *i. e.*, to interpret her as a personality which takes an interest in the affairs of man, is not new. However, this does not concern us. The direct appeal to nature for sympathy and relief presupposes implicit faith in her power to respond, and it will be logical, therefore, to show first to what extent Grillparzer endows nature with this necessary power.

The roots of nature's sympathy are embedded in her universal charity. Not infrequently Grillparzer attributes a comforting influence to the sources of light. Thus in the poems *An die Sonne*.⁵⁷

Du verscheuchest den Schlaf, der mit allmächtigen
 Schwingen jeglichen Menschen deckt,
 Der im quälenden Traum foltert den Erdensohn,
 Den du *gütig* der Qual entreisst;

and *An den Mond*.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ II, 1. 77.

⁵⁸ II, p. 78.

Manchen drücket schwerer Kummer,
 Manchen lastet Qual und Pein;
 Doch du wiegst in sanften Schlummer
Tröstend ihn, voll Mitleid ein.

The same idea is set forth in a passage of the *Ahnfrau*,⁵⁹ where Bertha calls Jaromir's attention to the mercy of God whose sunrays cast the golden light of hope and comfort over the very scaffold upon which punishment is meted out to the murderer.—At times, though rarely, even darkness, which Grillparzer generally invests with horror, appears sympathetic. In the poem *Vision*,⁶⁰ death, *i. e.*, darkness, expressly referred to as *Nachtgewölk* is not cruel enough to carry out its gloomy mission, in view of the many hearts which beat in love for Emperor Francis:

Nicht über meinen Auftrag geht die Pflicht;
 Ich ward gesandt, ein einzig Herz zu brechen,
 So viele Tausend Herzen brech' ich nicht!

In the same way, darkness is once referred to as the reflection of human misery. In this reflection appears the idea of sympathy, since nature mourns the fate of man:⁶¹

Als diese Nacht ich schlaflos stieg vom Lager
 Und, öffnend meiner Hütte niedre Tür,
 Aus jenem Dunkel trat in neues Dunkel,
 Da lag das Meer vor mir mit seinen Küsten,
 Ein schwarzer Teppich, ungeteilt, zu schaun,
 Wie eingehüllt in Trauer und in Gram.

The last line is significant, because it establishes, in this instance, sympathy as the cause of darkness.

A number of passages have a sympathetic-mystic character. In the poem *Der Selbstmörder*⁶² nature prevents, with all means at her command, a suicide from carrying out his plan. The very consciousness on the part of the suicide that he is watched by nature, that nature takes an interest in him, and, as moral ideal, strives to prevent wrong, is sufficient to arrest him, and his bad conscience is unable to endure nature's scrutinizing glance. Not satisfied with her effect upon the suicide's

⁵⁹ IV, p. 78.
⁶¹ VII, p. 52.

⁶⁰ I, p. 183.
⁶² II, p. 168.

eye, nature seeks to make an impression also upon his ear, and with a mighty voice she imparts the sympathetic lesson:

Wo wir stehn, da fällt niemand, als zwingender Gewalt.

Sympathy, likewise, is expressed by the voice of nature which transmits a greeting from beyond the grave. So Sappho:⁶³

Hier, wo Zypressen von der Eltern Grab
Mir leisen Geistergruss herüberlispeln.

The same sympathetic connection which nature establishes between life and death, between the known and the mystic, appears also from Count Borotin's words:⁶⁴

Sieh, mein Sohn, ich bin ein Greis;
Die Natur winkt mir zu Grabe,

which do not merely represent a poetic phrase for "Ich bin alt und muss sterben!"

The interest which nature takes in man is evinced further by her absolute secrecy, in which man may trust. Nature is omniscient; nothing can escape her attention, and her eyes rest constantly upon the fate of man: cf. the words of Gora:⁶⁵

Dem Herakles . . .
Hin sank er, und des Oeta waldiger Rücken
Sah ihn vergehn, in Flammen vergehn!

And Hero,⁶⁶ full of confidence in the sympathetic secrecy of nature, replies to her uncle's suspicious inquiries with a brief:

Die Lüfte wissen's;
Doch sie verschweigen's auch.

On the other hand, the fact that nature is omniscient makes it possible for her to sound a sympathetic note of warning, long before the actual catastrophe occurs. Jason, immediately after placing himself in possession of the dragon-guarded fleece, perceives a sigh in the foliage above, and a voice behind him cries "Wehe!" indicating that his daring feat will bring about his downfall.

These are the principal characteristics upon which Grillparzer bases nature's sympathetic power, and we may now

⁶³ IV, p. 142.
⁶⁴ V, p. 181.

⁶⁵ IV, p. 50.
⁶⁶ VII, p. 70.

turn to the consideration of those passages which contain man's direct appeal to nature for sympathy.

In appealing to nature for assistance, man pleads his cause before the highest tribunal. The poet himself (*Zwischen Götta und Capua*)⁶⁷ takes refuge with nature as the only power which is able to afford him relief:

Nun denn, versuch' es,
Eden der Lust,
Ebne die Wogen
Auch dieser Brust!

and in midwinter (*Ständchen*),⁶⁸ surrounded by ice and snow, he calls upon the ice to cool the glowing passion of his breast. For the same reason, Hero⁶⁹ appeals to the gentle night breeze which is not only to fan the flames that rage in her heart, but to bring her a message from the one she loves. The whole passage is a fine example of nature's sympathetic voice which sounds like music in the poet's ear:

Komm, Wind der Nacht,
Und kühle mir das Aug, die heissen Wangen!
Kommst du doch übers Meer von ihm,
Und, o dein Rauschen und der Blätter Lispeln,
Wie Worte klingt es mir: von ihm mir: ihm, von ihm.

Grillparzer's loftiest interpretation of nature lies in his identification of nature with love. Nature, now, as the ideal of love, has particular attraction for lovers who *feel* the relation of their own position to that of nature, and who, consequently, appeal to her sympathy more frequently and with greater assurance. Grillparzer often makes use of this sentimental appeal to the sympathy of nature, and the passage just quoted represents but one example out of many. It must be observed here that the interpretation, from Grillparzer's point of view, is considerably affected by the introduction of love. For lovers, darkness (night) loses its heretofore so much emphasized suggestion of horror. Every attribute of nature is now viewed from the standpoint of sympathy alone, and thus darkness is interpreted as the shielding, love-inviting con-

⁶⁷ I, p. 131.

⁶⁸ II, p. 16.

⁶⁹ VII, p. 88.

fidante of man. Thus the love-stricken Spartakus seeks the company of night, and Publipor,⁷⁰ to whom darkness signifies only horror, is unable to account for the strange action of his friend:

Da flieht er des Lagers süßen Arm
Und macht die Nacht zu seiner Brust Vertrauten.
In ihren Purpurmantel eingehüllt
Hört' ich ihn oftmals auf und nieder gehn,
Zum grausen Dunkel seltsam schaurig sprechend.

The same contrast of *Stimmung* is shown by Bertha who speaks of *eine grause Nacht*,⁷¹ and yet, in the very same scene,⁷² wishes to confide the overwhelming happiness of her young love to clouds and winds, and to the silence of night. She actually carries out this project, and leaves the house: nature has now only sympathy, but no horror for her.

Also disappointment in love leads to an appeal to nature's sympathy. This appeal, however, is not, cannot always be granted, because of the character of the appeal itself. If the appeal is justified, nature does not refuse her aid: Sappho⁷³ thus finds the needed sympathy in the quiet solitude of the grotto, to which she retreats with the first stings of disappointment in her heart; but when mad jealousy wrests from her tortured breast an ardent appeal to nature's vengeance, she hopes for sympathy in vain:

Hernieder euren rächerischen Strahl,
Hernieder auf den Scheitel der Verräter!
Zermalmt sie, Götter, wie ihr mich zermalmt!
Umsonst! Kein Blitz durchzuckt die stille Luft,
Die Winde säuseln buhlerisch im Laube,
Und auf den breiten Armen trägt die See
Den Kahn der Liebe schaukelnd vom Gestade!
Da ist nicht Hilfe!

Nature here fails to respond because, on one hand, she will not interfere with the freedom of love, and, on the other hand, because the guilt lies with Sappho herself rather than with Phaon and Melitta. Nature cannot grant any appeal which

⁷⁰ XI, p. 133.

⁷² IV, p. 23.

⁷¹ IV, p. 15.

⁷³ IV, p. 171.

would involve injustice or wrong. Neither Poseidon (water), nor the goddess of love (all nature) pay, therefore, any attention to Leander's prayer for protection,⁷⁴ while the paternal curse which is hurled at Medea comes to pass, letter by letter, with nature's assistance:

Dann wirst du stehen und die Hände ringen,
 Sie hinüber breiten nach dem Vaterland,
 Getrennt durch weite, brandende Meere,
 Deren Wellen dir murmelnd bringen des Vaters Fluch!

Grillparzer's interpretation of nature is, then, not at all times the same. The constant influence of *Stimmung* upon the poet's viewpoint has been discussed elsewhere, but it becomes necessary to return to this matter here. It has just been shown that night (darkness), for example, is interpreted, on the one hand, as an inspiration of fear and horror, and, on the other hand, as a phenomenon capable of sympathy. At first glance, this seems contradictory. Apparent contradictions are not infrequent with Grillparzer (also his political views were attacked on this ground), and when we read so gloomy a passage as, for instance, in *Jugenderinnerungen im Grünen*:⁷⁵

Doch sie (Natur), die oft geführt schon meine Sache,
 Getröstet mich so oft und gern zuvor,
 Verloren hatte sie für mich die Sprache,
 Die Sprache, oder ich für sie das Ohr;

we need not wonder how it is possible for the same poet who interprets nature as the ideal of beauty, goodness and love, and who, having shown the sympathetic power of nature, appeals to this power, to record elsewhere the loss of this sympathetic influence. The explanation for this, as well as for all other passages which seem to contain contradictions, is given in the last line of the above quotation: nature can never lose her voice, but the poet had temporarily, under the influence of a pessimistic *Stimmung*, lost the ear. This is an absolutely natural and as easily intelligible occurrence as the lack of musical appreciation on the part of a husband who, at the open grave of his young wife, hears the strains of the

⁷⁴ VII, p. 80.

⁷⁵ I, p. 232.

Bridal March from *Lohengrin*, played at a wedding celebration in the neighborhood.

Of as great importance as Grillparzer's mystic and sympathetic interpretation of nature, is his extensive symbolism. His flower-symbolism is of special interest. Flowers, in general, mean love; they bloom in the fairest season of the year (spring itself is love personified), and they are bright because beauty and light form two inseparable ideas with Grillparzer. Thus, in the poem *Intermezzo*:¹⁶

Im holden Mond der Maien,
Wenn *lichte* Blumen blühn,
Geflügelte Schalmeien
Die Waldesnacht durchziehn;
Da hebt sich eine Scholle,
Die Liebe lauscht hervor.

The same idea which shows that, to Grillparzer, all flowers represent love, is set forth also in the two following passages, the first of which (*Mit einem Blumenkörbchen*)¹⁷

Durch Blumen spricht das Herz aufs Beste,
Denn, schweigend, reden sie doch laut;

characterizes flowers as messengers of love (indirect symbolism), while the second (*Sappho*)¹⁸

Eucharis: Ihr Mädchen, auf! Mehr Blumen bringt herbei!
Zu ganzen Haufen Blumen. Schmückt das Haus,
Und Hof und Halle, Säule, Tür und Schwelle,
Ja, selbst die Blumenbeete schmückt mit Blumen!
Tut Würze zum Gewürz, denn heute feiert
Das Fest der Liebe die Gebieterin;

makes flowers appear as love itself (direct symbolism). Thus a gift of flowers is, likewise, with contrasting emphasis, shown to be a token of love, by Phaon:¹⁹

Gold schenkt die Eitelkeit, der rauhe Stolz;
Die Freundschaft und die Liebe schenken Blumen.

It is of interest, in this connection, to note one passage in which Grillparzer reverses the symbol. If flowers were shown

¹⁶ I, p. 223.
¹⁷ IV, p. 158.

¹⁸ II, p. 155.
¹⁹ *Ibid.*

heretofore as love, love itself now appears as a flower. So in *Sappho*.⁸⁰

Und findet er die Lieb', bückt er sich wohl,
Das holde Blümchen von dem Grund zu lesen.

A number of flowers are used by Grillparzer individually; myrtle, violet, lily and rose are those with which we are most concerned. The myrtle's simplicity suggests purity and innocence of affection, and thus becomes the symbol of virginity upon the bridal brow; the gentle violet represents modest and quiet (secret) enjoyment of love; the lily appears as symbol of naïveté, and the rose, in particular, is made the flower of love par excellence. What we have to deal with here is apparently the effect of color, rather than anything else. Grillparzer's optic nerve is just as sensitive as his musical ear, and thus color does not only act upon his eye, but leads also to the formation of symbolic associations. The green of the myrtle, therefore, at once appears as fertility, and not as green alone; the color of the violet combines with its fragrance and leads to the above-mentioned symbolic interpretation; the spotless white of the lily reflects purity and innocence, and the glowing red of the rose expresses the supreme bliss of love. The color of the rose itself is not mentioned in this connection, but it must be inferred with certainty that these particular roses are red, rather than white, because the color *white* could not mean innocence, naïveté and consciously sexual love (cf. Phaon who hands Sappho a rose) at the same time; and furthermore, the following picture—if all white—would be absolutely dull, a defect from which Grillparzer's pictures are totally free.⁸¹

Hero: So lasst an unserm Ufer ihn begraben,
Wo er erblich, wo er, ein Toter, lag,
Am Fusse meines Turms. Und Rosen sollen
Und weisse Lilien, vom Tau befeuchtet,
Aufsprossen, wo er liegt.

Apart from Grillparzer's interpretation of all nature as love (which shows the poet as his best, and which is so important

⁸⁰ IV, p. 174.

⁸¹ VII, p. 100.

as to make it necessary to discuss is separately), there remains to be mentioned here but one mystic-symbolic reference. It is contained in the poem *Zu Mozarts Feier*,⁸² where the pure air of lofty mountain-tops, mingled with the fragrance of herbs and flowers, is called the breath of God. No matter which phase of Grillparzer's interpretation of nature one may investigate, there appears a conscious effort on the part of the poet to establish God and nature as one inseparable unity. We have had occasion to observe that the poet endows nature with consciousness, with a moral, economic, and logical character; elsewhere attention has been called to the voice of nature, and here we meet with nature's breath. In this way, we approach more and more the completion of Grillparzer's picture, which reveals the godhead as a visible, tangible personality in nature herself. Two more elements—beauty and love—are necessary to complete the idealization of Nature Divine. Attention will be given these elements presently, but even now the poet's lofty conception of nature is fairly established.

That Grillparzer is deeply impressed with nature's beauty is now, upon consideration of the various phases of his description and interpretation of nature, a mere matter of course; however, the appreciation of nature alone hardly entitles anyone to be named in the list of nature-poets. The beauty of nature leads further, with Grillparzer, than to mere appreciation; it enables him to actually know nature, and with this knowledge begins his idealistic interpretation which culminates in the conception of nature as ideal of beauty and love. Many passages quoted heretofore reveal individual characteristics of nature as beautiful and lofty, but there are three particular poems which furnish the best evidence for the conception of All-Nature as visible ideal of beauty: *Zwischen Götta und Capua*,⁸³ *Mistress Shaw*,⁸⁴ and *Irenens Wiederkehr*.⁸⁵ The last of these will later be discussed at length, because it is of importance also for other reasons, so that a consideration of the first two may suffice here.

Zwischen Götta und Capua represents, at the same time,

⁸² II, p. 60.

⁸³ II, p. 46.

⁸⁴ I, p. 130.

⁸⁵ XI, p. 23 ff.

one of the finest landscapes the poet ever drew. The question may be raised here, why we seek Grillparzer's idealization of the beauty of nature in a *foreign* landscape, rather than in a home-painting in which, as we have seen, he makes so lavish a display of color. It should be observed, now, that this foreign landscape is in Italy, the country which nature endowed more richly perhaps than any other part of Europe. Italy thus afforded the poet a far better opportunity for expressing his ideal, than Austria, or even Germany by which he was but little attracted (cf. *Tagebücher*, XX, p. 27).

Here, between Gäta and Capua, the incomparable beauty of the country acts like an intoxicant upon the poet who barely knows in which direction to turn his eyes first. Gentle breezes are fanning his feverish brow, and he imagines to be in the realm of poetry. All colors seem more vivid to him; the sun shines brighter, the heavens are of a deeper blue, the green of the foliage appears fresher, and the fragrance of the flowers sweeter. Semi-tropical vegetation, to which he is not accustomed, does not fail to exert its powerful influence upon him: olive-tree and cypress suggest graceful women, and he is thrilled with pleasure upon discovering a golden pomegranate. "Apfel der Schönheit," he significantly calls it, while nature herself receives the cognomen *Paris* for giving this prize of beauty to charming Naples. The usefulness of the vine-plant is then with purpose introduced as incidental, while emphasis is placed upon its beauty. All these elements taken together lead to the exclamation:

Übrall Schönheit,
Übrall Glanz!

Again light is used as a synonym of beauty, and all nature (it makes no difference that this is Italian nature in particular) appears as the sun from which all beauty emanates. Nature is everywhere the ideal of beauty; however, this beauty is not the same in all places; it is wisely and economically distributed, and may be registered upon a graduated scale. Hence the qualitative and quantitative difference in beauty between Austria and Italy, which Grillparzer expresses with the words:

Was bei uns schreitet,
Schwebt hier im Tanz.

If the idealization of nature's beauty in *Zwischen Gäta und Capua* is due directly to the effect upon the visual sense, the other poem, *Mistress Shaw*, idealizes the cause by virtue of its effect upon the auditory sense. It is the musician, rather than the painter, who here interprets the voice of nature as a symphony of beauty. The poet lies on a soft couch of moss, by the side of a brook; above him, a "canopy of foliage" affords protection from the hot summer sun, and a beautiful carpet of grass, interwoven with flowers of brilliant gold, covers the stage of this theatre. Thus the poet shuts his eyelids, and suddenly he hears the voice of nature. The water has lips, and the trees have tongues. Music, such as he never heard before, sounds in the air: his ear turns soul.

Des Wassers Lippen und der Bäume Zungen
Stimmt ein zum Ton berührter Phantasie,
Halb an dem Ohr, halb in der Brust erklingen,
Umkreist ein Strom mich leiser Harmonie.

The Platonic definition of beauty as *χαίρειν ἐν τῷ θεωρεῖσθαι* (*Gorgias*) is apparently incomplete, so far as Grillparzer is concerned, because he shows beauty, through the idealization of nature, to be of a twofold character, so that beauty does not only consist of *χαίρειν ἐν τῷ θεωρεῖσθαι* but also of *χαίρειν ἐν τῷ ἀκροᾶσθαι* which seems to be contained in Kant's definition:⁸⁶ *Das Schöne ist das, was ohne Begriff, als Object eines allgemeinen Wohlgefallens vorgestellt wird.* For Grillparzer, nature is indeed the "object of universal pleasure"; so much so, in fact, that the grateful poet does not hesitate to see in nature the highest good:

Der Güter höchstes, was uns Gott gegeben,
Was Himmelsfreuden in uns wiederklingt,
Es ist das klare, heitre, warme Leben,
Das durch das Auge ein zum Herzen dringt.

According to this passage, nature is the ideal representation of *τὸ καλόν* and as an ideal it is an end per se, rather than a

⁸⁶ *Kritik des Urteils*. I, par. 6.

means to an end. However, is beauty alone the guiding star of human existence, and is the deification of nature justified upon the basis of beauty as the ultimate end of all striving? Beauty, to be sure, does not presuppose goodness, but must not τὸ καλὸν be coupled with τὸ ἀγαθόν before man is able to worship all nature as God? Grillparzer is well aware of the requirements without which a pantheistic interpretation of nature would be irrational, and therefore impossible. We had occasion before, to point to the poet's interpretation of nature as moral ideal (pp. 54 ff.), but even in the just-quoted reference the element of goodness is not lacking. The qualifying adjectives *klar* and *heiter* refer to beauty, while *warm* (love, charity,) appears to be the missing link which establishes a *καλοκαγαθία*, in the Socratic sense of the word. This connects us directly with Grillparzer's interpretation of nature as the ideal of love, which is to be discussed in the following paragraphs.

It is with purpose that the consideration of Grillparzer's nature-love cult has been reserved until the last, because his nature-sense appears here most highly developed, and because here his lyric language less deserves the harsh criticism which has been passed upon it by a number of stern judges, and which is shared also by Richard M. Meyer,⁸⁷ who admits Grillparzer's *lyrische Stimmung von hinreissender Kraft*, while he denies his ability to produce *eigentliche Lyrik*.

It lies in the nature of the subject that the greatest part of the passages which concern us here are to be found in those of Grillparzer's dramatic works in which love is a prominent issue (*Blanka*, *Sappho*, *Hero*), and in the early fragments (*Spartakus*, *Psyche*, *Irenens Wiederkehr*), but it is hard to find any of our poet's works which do not contain some allusion to nature as the ideal of love. In all of these references the idea is essentially the same, but this idea is expressed in so many varied ways as to make a detailed consideration well worth while.

That light and love are identical, with Grillparzer, has been shown; however, the fundamental principle of this interpreta-

⁸⁷ *Die deutsche Literatur des 19ten Jahrhunderts*, I, p. 83.

tion may become more clear by calling attention to the words of Melusina,⁸⁸ who states directly that nature's beauty (visible by daylight) breathes love, while without love, all nature would be dark and gloomy:

Übrall Nacht ist ohne Liebe,
Übrall Tag, wo Liebe lacht.

However, this does not mean that nature ceases to be love with the beginning of night (darkness), because Melusina continues:

Wenn die Sonne fern auch bliebe,
Lieb' ist Mond in sel'ger Nacht.

We met with the same thought before when we pointed out that Bertha's horror of night vanishes, at the very moment when she is able to look upon nature with the eyes of love. Nature-love can be fully understood only by one who is himself under the influence of an altruistic emotion. All nature thus appears to Fedriko⁸⁹ in brighter colors and in fairer forms, when he finds Blanka alive whom he had never expected to see again; and with his appreciation of nature, made possible by love, there comes upon him the full realization of nature's supreme mission, viz., to destroy pessimism and melancholy, and to plant in the heart of man the seed of faith and hope. With more elaborate details, Grillparzer shows that love alone leads to an appreciation of nature, by pointing out, in the *Kloster bei Sendomir*,⁹⁰ that nature's language is intelligible only to him who loves: "As the warm hand touched his, a hitherto unknown sensation seized upon his heart. An oriental fairy-tale relates of one who was suddenly endowed with the gift to understand the language of the birds and of the other phenomena of nature, and who now, resting in the shade by the edge of a brook, perceived in glad astonishment word and meaning, everywhere about him, while, before, he heard only noise and sounds. The Count had this experience. A new world arose before him, and with faltering steps he followed his graceful guide who opened a small door and stepped with him into a low, dimly lighted chamber."

⁸⁸ VII, p. 230.

⁸⁹ X, p. 21.

⁹⁰ XIII, p. 200.

All nature sings songs of love, but the voice of nature is soft and low, perceptible only to the loving ear. So Spartakus:²¹

Indes die ganze Schöpfung Liebeslieder
Mit leisem Ton zu unsern Herzen sang—

Love, the very essence of nature, raises man upon the highest plane of his development. Only in direct communication with nature, man may, therefore, become perfect; only under the influence of love is it possible for him to pay his great debt to his fellowmen, which consists in universal charity and altruistic usefulness.. The mature philosophy of the aged man in the fragment *Spartakus* may be inferred from his significant words of welcome addressed to his young friend:²²

Du liebst! Du bist vollendet! Die Natur
Hat dir ihr Siegel aufgedrückt. Du liebst!
O, sei willkommen, Mensch, im Namen der Menschheit.

At times, nature's love-language is heard by some particularly attentive person, but, just as the rustling of the foliage and the murmuring of a brook present nothing but a meaningless noise-riddle to him who is not bound to nature by the ties of love, he fails to grasp the sweet enticing accents of this inimitable speech. This is the case with the watchman who guards Hero's dwelling and Aphrodite's sacred grove against intruders. In reporting his suspicion to his master, the morning after Leander's secret visit, he describes in vivid language the very love notes of nature, however without any understanding:²³

Und oben war's so laut, und doch so heimlich,
Ein Flüstern und ein Rauschen hier und dort.
Die ganze Gegend schien erwacht, bewegt;
Im dichtsten Laub ein sonderbares Regen,
Wie Windeswehn, und wehte doch kein Wind;
Und was getönt und wiederklang, war *nichts*.
Das Meer stieg rauschend höher an die Ufer,
Ein halb enthüllt Geheimnis schien die Nacht.
Und dieser Turm war all des dumpfen Treibens
Und leisen Regens Mittelpunkt und Ziel.

²¹ XI, p. 152.

²² XI, p. 142.

²³ VII, p. 64.

Wohl zwanzigmal eilt' ich an seinen Fuß,
 Nun meinst du jetzt das Rätsel zu enthüllen,
 Und sah hinan, nichts schaut' ich als das Licht,
 Das fort und fort aus Heros Fenster schien.
 Ein einzig mal lief wie ein Mannesschatten
 Vom Meeresufer nach dem Turme zu.
 Ich folg', und angelangt, war wieder nichts,
 Nur Rauschen rings und Regen, wie zuvor.

How different from this is Phaon's language, when he encourages his timid sweetheart by calling her attention to the sympathy which nature expresses, as the protecting power of love:⁸⁴

Fort! Die Sterne blinken freundlich,
 Die See rauscht auf, die lauen Lüfte wehn,
 Und Amphitrite ist der Liebe hold.

As our appreciation of nature matures upon regarding her as the ideal of love, which, however, we are able to do only when we ourselves understand the meaning of love from our own experience, it is natural that that part of nature, that part of the world in which this experience came to us, is endowed, in our imagination, with particular beauty and special attraction. Therefore, if circumstances have separated us from that particular place, it remains in our hearts as the object of our perpetual longing. This longing fills the mourning soul of the unfortunate Blanka, who, bound in marriage to a monster she cannot respect, has but one desire: to see, once more before her death, the happy land where she was first initiated into the mysteries of nature and of love. Like a Mignon-song sound the passionate accents of Blanka's agony:⁸⁵

Dahin lass mich ziehn,
 Diesem Kerker entfliehn,
 Die seligen Auen
 Noch einmal schauen,
 In deren Schoss
 Mein junges Herz
 Der Liebe Schmerz,
 Der Liebe Wonne
 Entzückt genoss;

⁸⁴ IV, p. 202.

⁸⁵ X, pp. 29, 30.

Mich schaun die Sonne,
 Die mich bestrahlte,
 Als Himmelslust
 An seiner Brust
 Mit Purpur meine Wangen malte;
 Mich sehn das Land,
 Wo an der Hand
 Ich der Natur
 Zuerst erfuhr,
 Wie Lieb' beglückt,
 Wie sie betrügt!
 Dahin lass mich fliehn;
 In seinen stillen Gründen
 Ein Grab mich finden!

In conceiving nature as the ideal of love, the picture of our own individual ideal—our own Beloved—must be reflected in this mirror of beauty and purity. It is quite intelligible, therefore, that Grillparzer devotes particular attention to this requirement. According to Spartakus' own statement,⁹⁶ all nature—the track of love—reveals characteristics of his Beloved. Every breath of air, every living creature, every sprout of green, and every brook remind him of his love, and from the very lips of nature comes his sweetheart's name. More beautiful even than this statement, and still more explicit, is Spartakus' analysis of the significance of nature's voice at night. The fear-inspiring element of darkness here disappears altogether, and night is associated only with the ideas of stillness and rest, which enable nature to deliver her message of love. This is a psychic, rather than a physical message, and its delivery is therefore more certain at that time when the body is in the subconscious state of sleep which bares the soul to nature's influence. The entire passage⁹⁷ is one of those which show how much Grillparzer was influenced by romanticism:

Wenn die Sonne hinab ist,
 Und die feuchte Nacht niedersteigt,
 Und die Vögel schlafen,
 Und die Menschen ruhn,
 Und alles Lebendige schweigt,

⁹⁶ XI, p. 139.

⁹⁷ XI, p. 141.

Müde des Körpers Ohr sich schliesst;
 Da erklingen leise Stimmen,
 Und des Geistes Ohr
 Tut sich ahndend, sehnend auf.
 Was ihr sprachlos nennt, gewinnt Rede,
 Und der Hain spricht,
 Und die Wolken,
 Die zitternden Sterne,
 Des Mondes wehmütiger Schein.
 Und von *ihr* lispelt der Wald,
 Von ihr murmelt der Bach,
 Sie spricht durch die leisen Klänge,
 Die auf goldenen Flügeln
 Durch den Äther säuseln,
 Und sie und übrall sie,
 Durch die ganze Schöpfung nur sie!

It should be observed that Grillparzer enlivens the reflection of the Loved One in nature, by appealing to the ear, as well as to the eye. Nature thus reveals no mere spectres of love that pass by us like lantern views, but love is endowed with flesh and blood and language, a real actor upon the stage of life. Overwhelming, at first, seems the consciousness that nature is love. So with Bertha:⁹⁸

Ich kann's nicht fassen,
 Mich selber nicht fassen;
 Alles zeigt mir und spricht mir nur ihn . . .

On the other hand, nature brings clearness in matters of affection. Phaon thus learns,⁹⁹ through intimate communication with nature, that he loves Melitta, while the feeling kindled within him by Sappho's art is admiration and reverence.

The fairest note in Grillparzer's treatment of nature as love is struck by Blanka,¹⁰⁰ for whom the very appreciation of nature is a matter of altruism. She, too, like Bertha, Spartakus and Phaon, sees in nature the reflection of her Beloved, but she goes further than that when she emphasizes that that (love) is all the meaning nature has for her, and that she is charmed by nature only because nature attracts Fedriko's heart. An enjoyment of nature without love—or without the

⁹⁸ IV, p. 23.

⁹⁹ IV, p. 146.

¹⁰⁰ X, p. 38.

Loved One—is impossible: the death of love means the death of nature; not for all (because nature is immortal), but for the particular unfortunate individual. Without love, without nature, life is not worth living, and should the shock of the loss itself not be sufficient to kill—the soul is dead, and the body is a living corpse. This is the truth which lies in Hero's lamenting words:¹⁰¹

Sag: er war alles! Was noch übrig blieb,
Es sind nur Schatten; es zerfällt, ein Nichts.
Sein Atem war die Luft, sein Aug die Sonne,
Sein Leib die Kraft der sprossenden Natur;
Sein Leben war das Leben; deines, meins,
Des Weltalls Leben. Als wir's liessen sterben,
Da starben wir mit ihm. Komm, lass'ger Freund,
Komm, lass uns gehn mit unsrer eignen Leiche.

We turn now to the discussion of *Irenens Wiederkehr* which is not only of importance for Grillparzer's interpretation of nature as ideal of beauty and love, but which contains, crowded together into the close space of ten pages, almost all the characteristics of the poet's conception of nature to which attention has been called in the preceding pages. The poet himself calls *Irenens Wiederkehr Ein poetisches Gemälde*; in reality, it is not one painting, but a succession of paintings, all of which have the same *sujet*, nature, but each of which shows a modification of the color-scheme, *i. e.*, each of these paintings represents the individual point of view held by the different characters—wanderer, peasant, youth and maiden. There is no actual exchange of opinion, because there is no dialogue; but a well-connected series of monologues make it possible to look upon the aggregate of pictures as a sort of evolution of nature-interpretation.

The first picture is drawn by the wanderer, the oldest of the characters introduced. He describes and interprets the magnificent spectacle of sunrise. All nature is endowed with consciousness, and there is universal rejoicing over the advent of light. The ever-varied beauty of nature causes a "current of pleasurable sensations," but beauty alone is not sufficient to

¹⁰¹ VII, p. 96.

bind permanently the human heart, and love is necessary to make a close communion between nature and man possible. It is with significant purpose, therefore, that the wanderer refers to nature as "Das liebende All." Coupled with beauty and love are rest and peace, two essential requirements for a happy old-age. In spite of his years, the wanderer displays youthful enthusiasm, but if the enthusiasm of youth is based upon hope, *his* is based upon conviction, the result of experience. The experimental stage of the wanderer's life lies far behind him, and his thorough comprehension of the actual significance of nature enables him to feel as an inseparable part of the whole: his relation to nature is that of creature to creator, of man to God. And God-Nature is not a God of wrath, but of love, who never fails to show sympathy for the sufferings of man.

The very appearance of the youth, who sketches the second picture, points to his interpretation of nature. Quiver and spear are the attributes which he carries: he goes out to hunt in the wilderness of the forest, his aim, as we shall see, being freedom and pleasure. His ruthless energy causes him to be dissatisfied with the narrow boundaries of domestic life, and the peaceful performance of manual labor lies as heavily upon him as prison chains. He yearns to breathe the free air of the mountains, and his adventurous disposition inflames his imagination with pictures of game, pursued by the daring hunter upon precipitous paths. The youth seeks pleasure in nature, rather than nature herself:

An der Hand der Natur
Folgt er der Freude Spur;

and thus, with him, nature is an object, rather than an end. His conception of nature is just as erroneous as the attitude of hedonistic philosophy toward life. On the other hand, the youth has heard the voice of nature in solitude, of which he is fond, like all youthful dreamers who have visions of future greatness and fame. His impressionable heart is full of ideals, and sunrise inspires him to deeds of unheard of bravery. But, after all, he does not understand the language of the universe, he has only an intimation of nature's true function, while the wanderer has knowledge. The blame rests with his youth,

with his immaturity which makes him the sport of his impulses. The following words of the wanderer may be taken as an apologetic characterization of the youth:

Rasch stürmt der Jüngling durch das Leben,
Verzehrend lodert seine Glut,
Nach Taten geht sein sehnend Streben,
Das All umspannt sein kecker Mut;
Verachtend sieht er auf den Wert des Kleinen;
Was ihm gefällt, muss ungeheuer scheinen.

These words are then followed by a consideration of the consequences which youthful impulsiveness may have, and the horrors of war are depicted in vivid colors. Here lies the great contrast in the interpretation of nature given by wanderer and youth: while the wanderer reads in the pages of the great Book of Nature a message of peace and of universal love, the youth interprets the freedom of nature as an inspiration to obtain freedom for himself at any cost—if need be, with the aid of the sword.

The peasant who now appears behind the plough at once expresses his appreciation of nature by singing a hymn in praise of the sun. But, although his warm words of gratitude for nature's blessings seem to indicate a more advanced stage of interpretation than that occupied by the youth, it is very evident that even by him beauty is not worshipped for beauty's sake alone, inasmuch as he emphasizes particularly the element of *usefulness* as the actual source of his appreciation and gratitude.

Hehr am hohen Himmelszelt
Flammt dein Lauf
Und erhält
Saat und Feld,
Die durch dich beglückte Welt
Sieht mit Dank zu dir hinauf!

As a peasant, he depends, of course, largely upon nature for his livelihood, and we cannot be astonished, therefore, that he regards nature but as a means to the end. Grillparzer, it seems, has chosen with purpose the character of a peasant for an illustration of utilitarian interpretation of nature. More-

over, it is not without significance that this peasant is a middle-aged man: his interpretation of nature thus appears semi-mature, and he takes his place between the two extremes represented by wanderer and youth. We are informed that the peasant is a married man, and that the physical welfare of his wife and children depends upon the results of his labor which, in turn, depend upon nature. This point is to be taken into consideration in addition to the peasant's age, if we wish to compare his relation to nature with that of the youth. The weight of responsibility affects the formation of character, and the particular responsibility resting upon husband and father tends to break down the altar of selfishness upon which the young man sacrifices. While the youth's interpretation of nature is obviously hedonistic, the peasant stands on a considerably higher plane: he sees in nature the welcome helpmeet in his efforts for those he loves. This follows from his appeal to nature's sympathy:

Verdopple dein Feuer, flammende Sonne,
 Glühende Lüfte, weht glühender fort!
 Kühlung hauch zu mir das süsse Wort:
 Alle Müh
 Für sie, für sie!
 Mag meinen Schweiss die Erde trinken,
 Das Bild der Teuren lässt mich nicht sinken!

The entire attitude of the peasant is then commented upon by the wanderer who defines the contrast between him and the youth: the youth destroys, while the peasant constructs; the youth misinterprets, while the peasant *begins* to interpret nature. The picture which the wanderer here unfolds represents the bourgeois in his happy home, and the interpretation of nature of this bourgeois is that of the average man.

A maiden, who has "sixteen times beheld the apple-tree in bloom," is introduced in the next-following picture. She shows as yet no interpretation of nature at all; or, if the fact that the beauty of spring no longer thrills her heart as before, and that she is unable to take part in nature's universal rejoicing, is to be called interpretation of nature, it is certainly subconscious. She knows as little of the significance of nature as

she is able to account for the change which has come over her. The wanderer becomes her teacher. It is he who, hidden behind a rock, comforts the distracted child by showing her the cause of her sentimental malady, and who thus arouses her slumbering virginity to consciousness. His mature appreciation of nature appears again in the method which he pursues. A spark from nature's divinity has fallen into the heart of the girl, and before the wanderer is able to explain to the bewildered maiden the meaning of her experience, he turns to the cause, to the origin itself, and lends expression to his lofty conception of nature:

Es steigt ein Gott von Himmel nieder,
 Die Schöpfung ist ihm untertan,
 Es tönen *ihm* der Vögel Lieder,
Ihm flammt die Sonn' auf lichter Bahn!
 Die Erde fühlet seine Triebe;
 Als kräft'ge Pflanze reisst sich los,
 Was einst in ihrem kalten Schoss
 Verhüllt sich barg als schwacher Same.
 Liebe,
 Liebe!
 Ist des Belebbers süßes Name!

The impression made upon the young girl then assumes a visible form with the sudden appearance of the youth she loves, upon the height of the rock. It is then that she comes to the full realization of what is taking place within her heart; she flees, to conceal her blushing cheeks, and we lose sight of her. We are not told where she is going, but there can be no doubt, that her aim is solitary communion with nature which, as ideal of love, will henceforth be her haven of rest and refuge, and which alone can give her instruction in the performance of woman's sublime and altruistic mission—motherhood!

After the maiden's escape, the wanderer, in the form of an epilogue points out the differences in the character of man and woman, and he shows that these differences are so distributed as to supplement rather than to counteract each other. Importance must be attached also to this statement, because

by showing that man and woman together form one unit, the wanderer establishes the symmetry of nature as part of her ideal beauty.

Who, now, is this mysterious wanderer who, from "jenseits von Gut und Böse," as it were, passes judgment upon the various kinds of interpretation of nature shown by youth, peasant and maiden, and who sets forth his own lofty ideas with such overwhelming force? It can be no one else than Grillparzer himself, to whom nature means so much, and who desires to impress others with the purified truth which he believes to have in his possession. We have had occasion to hear the "wanderer's" voice in numerous other passages, but in *Irenens Wiederkehr* it is not only most eloquent, but also expresses the thought in its most complete form, and thus solidifies the basis of the poet's pantheistic interpretation of nature.

CONCLUSION

Grillparzer's nature-poetry is not so much an original conception of nature as an original expression of modern interpretation. We have had occasion to study the poet's careful treatment of the seasons of the year, and we have noted his preference for the two extremes Spring and Winter. Our attention has been directed upon his exceedingly sensitive disposition toward light and darkness, as well as upon his appreciation of water, thunder, rain and storm, while we were able to admire his many-colored landscapes, and to infer his love for nature from his readiness to make use of her in metaphors. On the other hand, we are now acquainted with the particular characteristics which Grillparzer ascribes to nature; with his treatment of solitude and mysticism; with his appeals to nature's sympathy; with his symbolic interpretation of nature, and, finally, with his analysis of cosmic metaphysics. Grillparzer, as a poet of nature, reveals the influence exerted upon him especially by the romantic reaction,¹ but he is more closely related to Byron than to Tieck or Novalis. That he could not, without Goethe, have given expression to a pantheistic conception of nature, or, without the influence of the Greeks and of Rousseau, to a perpetual longing for the balm of solitude, goes without saying. While he, then, like any modern poet, derived the essence of his interpretation of nature from traditional standards, his inborn love for nature and the individuality of his expression must be taken into consideration.

The key to Grillparzer's nature-poetry may be found in his aesthetic principles. In his *Autobiography*² he refers to nature as the "real source of the true poet," and in his studies *Zur Poesie im Allgemeinen*³ he says emphatically: "That which attains the vivacity of nature and yet, by virtue of the concomitant ideas, goes beyond nature, *that, and only that is*

¹ *Vide* above, p. 12.

² XIX, p. 186.

³ XV, p. 55.

poetry." However, Grillparzer's art does not consist of a mere imitation of nature, for he admits the truth of a passage in *Revue des Deux Mondes*,⁴ where art is defined as the interpretation of nature. "Nor is art," he says elsewhere,⁵ "an embellishment of nature, for who could render individual traits of nature more beautiful than they are? Compare a painted tree with life, the description of a landscape with reality, the Venus of Medici with your sweetheart!"—Another statement made by the poet himself, in the evening of his life (1864), is of special interest for the characterization of his nature-poetry:⁶ "The Brothers Schlegel have cast the shibboleth into the world, that ancient poetry is objective, while modern poetry is subjective. That sort of poetry which is not subjective is, in my opinion, no poetry at all." The pronounced subjectivity which appears in Grillparzer's description and interpretation of nature often reminds one of Geo. Brandes'⁷ definition of Lord Byron's true greatness: namely, the passionate manifestation of subjectivity and individualism.

It is far from me to attempt to lift Grillparzer's lyric poetry to the height of Lord Byron or to that of Goethe. As a dramatic poet, Grillparzer shows many points of contact with Goethe, as Waniek has shown in his pamphlet *Grillparzer unter Goethes Einfluss*, Bielitz, 1893, and also in his interpretation of nature we meet with kindred thoughts (cf. for example the following passage from the *Ahnfrau*: *Und mit tausend Flammenaugen starrt die Nacht nich glotzend an* with Goethe's *Finsternis, die aus dem Gesträuche mit hundert schwarzen Augen sieht*), although Goethe's wonderful lyric language has not been duplicated.

As for Lord Byron, Grillparzer himself felt that there was an apparent relation between them, and, in various passages, in his Diaries, he draws comparisons between the British poet and himself. Both poets were also of kindred temperament, and their various sad experiences, which ultimately led them to a solitary life, would tend to show points of biographical similarity.

⁴ *Ästhetische Studien*, XV, p. 26. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶ *Tagebücher*, II, p. 141.

⁷ *Der Naturalismus in England*, p. 303.

To establish the position of Grillparzer, as a poet of nature, between Goethe and Lord Byron, would require another bulky treatise in which Grillparzer's nature-poetry should be studied from a comparative point of view. The present investigation is confined to the discussion of Grillparzer's individual treatment of nature, and the poet's apparent kinship to the foremost representatives of lyric poetry in Germany and England must be regarded as a mere suggestion to some other student.

Whatever has been, and may still be said in criticism of Grillparzer's lyric vein, it is earnestly hoped that these pages may have prepared the way for a more serious consideration of his genius and of his actual achievements in the field of lyrics. Above all, let us not forget that Grillparzer at all times painted what he saw as he saw it. The truthfulness of his character which his biographers laud is reflected also in his poetry, and in his poetry of nature in particular. Gustav Pollak⁸ sums up this thought as follows: "Grillparzer's lyric vein which lends to his dramas so unique a charm, found expression in numerous poems which are a remarkably faithful reflex of his inner life. No writer ever followed more scrupulously Goethe's example in seeking inspiration in the reality of his experiences." In addition to this comes the poet's consciousness that he possessed the true original. The following poem, in which Grillparzer apparently pokes fun at the copyists of past and present, contains a significant self-praise which, however, we must accept as justified and true:

Das Urbild und die Abbilder.

(An eine Nicht-Dichterin)

Kunstbeflissen und unverzagt,
 Feder und Farben und Stift in den Taschen,
 Ziehen sie aus in wilder Jagd,
 Unschuld und Reiz und Natur zu erhaschen.
 Was er erhascht und was er erringt,
 Jeder fein fleissig zu Buche bringt,
 Um in des Winters Frieren und Härmen
 Sich an dem köstlichen Labsal zu wärmen.
 Wie? und nur du mehrst nicht ihre Zahl?
 Schättest du nicht, wonach jene geizen?

⁸ *Franz Grillparzer and the Austrian Drama*, p. 401.

Kann dich Natur und Unschuld nicht reizen?
Oder wär's hier wie im Bildersaal?
Alles rennt dort und hascht nach Kopieen;
Einer nur will sich nicht viel bemühen—
"Trägt er im Busen ein Herz von Stahl?"
Nein—er besitzt das Original!

.

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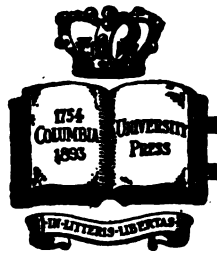
KARL LEBRECHT IMMERMANN

A STUDY IN GERMAN ROMANTICISM

BY

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Sometime Carl Schurz Fellow in German, Columbia University



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TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER

NOTE

Considering the extent and variety of his literary production and the peculiar interest of the 'epigonic' period in which his best work was done, Immermann has been too little studied. I do not mean that he is a neglected genius, for he was not a man of genius. But the many-sidedness of his talent, his sensitiveness to every breeze that blew, his eager experimentation, make him especially interesting as a mirror of the Romantic epoch. Mr. Porterfield has undertaken to study him in his total relation to the Romanticists and to all that they were driving at. I regard the work as a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Immermann and his contemporaries.

CALVIN THOMAS.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
December, 1910.

PREFACE

In its most remote origin, this study grew out of a desire to familiarize myself with an important and suggestive epoch in German literature while solving a somewhat broad yet definite problem taken from this epoch. Immermann's lifelong though irregular and varying interest in German Romanticism appealed to me as abundantly satisfying this requirement.

To Professor Calvin Thomas I owe indeed much by way of general suggestion, substantial assistance and personal encouragement.

To Professor Robert Herndon Fife, of Wesleyan University, I owe a deep debt by way of advice as to the most feasible method of approach to Romanticism from the standpoint of an individual poet.

To my predecessors, I owe most to the works of Haym and Huch on Romanticism, and to those of Putlitz and Maync on Immermann.

To Professors W. H. Carpenter, Hervey, Krapp, Lawrence, Remy and Tombo of Columbia, and to Professor F. W. Truscott of West Virginia University, I owe that peculiarly unpayable debt that disciple always owes to master.

To my colleague, Mrs. Juliana Haskell, Ph.D., who so carefully read the proof, I owe not a little.

A. W. P.

NEW YORK CITY,
November, 1910.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century, an extremely resourceful theme for students of German literature has been "Romanticism." That so many treatises, pretentious and unpretentious, have been written on this subject argues, however, in no sense, that it is so deep as to be unfathomable, so broad as to be only vague. It is not discussion, but silence that condemns a work. Many commentaries have been written on "Faust," because it is suggestive. Romanticism deals with the suggestive rather than the determined phases of life. It has been treated, extensively, from the genetic, biographic, philosophic, popular and appreciative standpoints. It has been treated, intensively, from, one would think, every standpoint. But these briefer studies concern themselves almost entirely with narrow, individual phases, oftentimes idiosyncrasies of romanticism and consequently lack breadth and balance. And the larger studies, because so wholly philosophic, become abstruse and at times decidedly vague. The average reader will understand the text of "Lucinde" more easily than Haym's comment on it. Works like those of Dilthey, Joachimi and Kircher are of more value to the philosophic student than to the appreciative reader; yet the latter is part of a larger company. Thus far, no attempt has been made to give a broad, analytic, concrete picture of German romanticism; to note and classify those themes and devices that occur with significant frequency in romantic creations. There is a long series of works from Heine's "Romantische Schule" (1833) to Wernaer's "German Romanticism" (1910). But no one of these was written with the sole purpose of giving a well-rounded picture of romantic sources, themes and forms.

Immermann's poetic activity extends over the period from 1820 to 1840. He was well read in the literature of his day, and, possessing a more receptive than productive mind, was

much given to imitation. That he was influenced by romanticism, no one denies. The nature and extent of this influence, no one has determined. He leaned most heavily on Cervantes, Calderon, Goethe and Tieck. During his lifetime he enjoyed but little favorable criticism. From his death to the centenary of his birth (1896) literature on his works was fairly exiguous. Since 1896 there has been a mild Immermann revival. Opinions as to the eternal value of his poetry vary from the harsh sentence of Goedeke, who sees practically no good thing in him, to Geibel, who thinks that in "Merlin" he wrote a second "Faust" and that "Epigonen" and "Münchhausen" deserve a double cheer. But no one of these criticisms concerns itself, except in a most casual and general way, with Immermann as a romanticist.

The purpose of this study has been, then, twofold: (1) to determine Immermann's exact relation to romanticism; (2) to give a broad, concrete picture of romanticism, so far as this can be done with only Immermann as a background.

It has been neither my purpose nor my duty to set up an epigrammatic definition of romanticism. I have tried, on the other hand, so to arrange the study that every sentence should constitute a part of a definition and delimitation of the term. It is, however, no more impossible of succinct definition than are such terms as "religion," "education," "success," "democracy," or "pantheism." Goethe declared (Eckermann, April 2, 1829) romanticism to be diseased, Schiller (Beller-mann, Vol. VIII, 335-341) said it was sentimental, Jean Paul (Vorschule der Aesthetik, Vol. XVII, 74-94) said it was modern, Tieck (Kritische Schriften, Vol. II, 237) said it was synonymous with poetic, Friedrich Schlegel (Minor, Vol. II, 220) said it was progressive, universal poetry, Heine (Elster, Vol. V, 217) described it as being a revivification of the Middle Ages and Wernaer (German Romanticism, 24) calls it soul-culture. What it means to a given student depends largely on what writer or writers he reads most carefully. If he reads, for example, those two romanticists who were most similar, Novalis and Wackenroder, even here he will come to a different conclusion. In the one it is the art of religion, in the other the

religion of art. And if he could read all of the romanticists, he would very likely say with Fr. Schlegel that it is progressive, universal poetry.

That romanticism is incapable of a concise definition is due to the fact that it can not be delimited as to time, and as a movement it passed through various stages of development. It would be very simple if we could set up "Wilhelm Meister" as the *Magna Charta* of romanticism and date everything from 1796. But this would be like saying that the great French Revolution dated rigidly from 1789, and that there were no revolutionary signs previous to that year. Whereas, just as the writings of such men as Turgot and Adam Smith indirectly led up to the Revolution, so were there signs of an approaching romantic era long before the romantic doctrine had been formulated or the romantic school established. Indeed from the days of Otfried on there has always been a romantic strain in German literature. The writings of Jacob Böhme (1575-1624) contained two fundamental romantic tenets—nature-philosophy and mysticism. It was simply during the generation from 1795 to 1830 that romanticism was predominant. And it is just barely accurate to speak of a romantic "school" even during this period. The situation more nearly resembled a great romantic institute, with one school here and another there and still another somewhere else, the leading spirits of which had, at times, hardly a speaking acquaintance one with another. They all taught, however, a similar doctrine.

An illuminating picture of romanticism is contained in the history of its symbol, its palladium, the blue flower in Germany (*Deutsche Sagen*, hrsg. von den Brüdern Grimm, erster Bd., 201-202) and the golden drinking horns in Norway (*Ges. d. dän. Lit. von Jörgensen*, 82-84). Though totally different as to their outward nature, they are very similar as symbols. In either case it is a question of the loss of something of extreme beauty and worth. Idealists long to regain this neglected and vanished treasure. Their search for a season is ardent, but is abandoned, as the searchers grow old, on the ground that the quest is vain, or that the find will be disappointing. Roman-

ticism was born of a pessimism as to the present and an optimism as to the future that begot a deep longing for something infinitely better than then existed. This longing nourished subjectivism and paid homage to mysticism. Being subjective, it in time recoiled on itself and became satiric, or it rose above itself and became ironic. Dissatisfaction, longing, subjectivism, mysticism, satire and irony—these are the main stages in the genesis, rise, prosperity, decline and attenuation of German romanticism.

Two things inseparably connect Immermann with the older group of the romantic movement: (1) his lifelong friendship with Ludwig Tieck, to whom his debt was very great, and of whom his estimation was overgreat. Tieck gave, for example, no proof that "he would have become the father of the German comedy and that this comedy would have been the greatest of modern times had the stage been kindly disposed to him at his best season" (IV, 9); (2) his fatal weakness as a lyric writer, wherein lay the strength of the younger members of the group.

A study of German romanticism can be undertaken from three different viewpoints: first, including only the purely creative works of the poets of the Berlin, Jena, Heidelberg, Halle and Dresden groups; second, including everything that the poets of these groups wrote, creative and critical; third, including not only the poets of these groups, but also the scientists, economists, theologians and artists that gathered around them. The first is a trifle too narrow. It is difficult here to separate the critical from the creative. Some of the romantic criticism was at the same time creative. Tieck's "Dichterleben" belongs partly to both classes. The third is too broad to mean anything. Romanticism, according to this conception, would deal with the whole of life in all its phases; with the comprehended and determined as well as the apprehended and suggestive. The second viewpoint is the one taken in this study. I have investigated Immermann's creative and critical works, not with reference to their relative value, but with the idea of analyzing and classifying their sources, themes and forms. The concrete picture of German romanticism here

attempted is supposed to be entirely complete in outline, and complete in details to the point of easy recognition. As a picture it lacks the final touches, because it is based on a poet who never created these.

I have gone into Immermann's sources with the constant purpose of comparing the leading romantic themes in source and poem. I have tried to show wherein he is romantic, the different forms his romanticism assumes, and wherein he is not romantic. My authentic documents have been, first of all, Immermann's own creative and critical works. And their authenticity has been proved by comparison, recorded and unrecorded, with the writings of those whom all the world calls romanticists. I have never hesitated to demonstrate in his case what has already been proved in the case of others. My purpose throughout has been twofold; and this has reinforced me in the belief that the undertaking was doubly worth while.

CHAPTER I

IMMERMANN'S GENERAL RELATION TO ROMANTICISM:

(1) LITERARY CONNECTIONS; (2) PERSONAL TRAITS

Bei dem Werden eines Dichters wirken die reellsten und die geistigsten Momente zusammen: die biographischen Zufälligkeiten der Geburt, Zeit, Ort, Abstammung und Familiengeist, das Vaterland und die Schule, persönliche Begegnungen, Studien, vielleicht dies oder jenes einzelne Buch. Alle diese Einwirkungen aber nehmen ihren Weg durch die Seele und reflektieren sich je nach der Natur dieser Seele.—Rudolf Haym.

Immermann (1796–1840) was born one year before Heine, in the same year as Platen, later than any of the other universally acknowledged romanticists, and was survived by Brentano, Eichendorff, Fouqué, Görres, Hölderlin, Houwald, Kerner, Rückert, Schelling, A. W. Schlegel, Tieck and Uhland. He fought with his generation and not against it. Writing (1839) of the influence of romanticism, he says: "The romantic school was of the greatest influence on coteries and poetic minds. No really ambitious writer could escape its charm, for it fixed a necessary point in the development of German literature."¹ And in reply to Heinrich Laube as to whether he was justified in writing memoirs, Immermann writes: "What a mass of poetic detail the 'War of Liberation' offers me! What delight it gives me to portray the period of revelling and dreaming that I enjoyed with the romanticists after the war was over!"² In a letter to Gräfin Lützow, he writes: "The fundamental idea of the school, to which I also belong, is that one must approach a work of art not simply with reason but with the harmony of all one's powers, fancy and feeling included."³ And yet, one year later (1825), in his dissertation

¹ Cf. XVIII, 166–167. All textual references are to the Hempel edition of Immermann's works.

² Cf. XVIII, 5. Written in the spring of 1839.

³ Cf. *Gräfin Elisa von Ahlefeldt, eine Biographie* von Ludmilla Assing. The letter is dated March 14, 1824, and contains introductory comments on the critical work of the Schlegels. Comparing their method of criticism with

"Ueber den rasenden Ajax des Sophokles" he ascribes the present confused and uncertain condition of the German stage as much to the whimsicalness of the romanticists as to the regularness of the classicists, declaring that the former have caused the pendulum to swing too far to the other side. He censures the subjective arbitrariness of the romanticists and looks upon it as a strong factor in the estrangement of the tragic muse. He writes:⁴ "Placed between Sophocles and the demands of the present, the poet loses himself, he loses sight of a fixed goal and he loses the ground under his feet."

As to his affinity for the doctrines of the romanticists, his biographer writes:⁵ "It is entirely possible that romanticism had a more grievous effect on Immermann than on any other of its followers. His serious, heavy nature could not adapt itself to the light and fanciful creations of the school. His mind lacked the lively play of fancy that bore others golden fruit. What in Tieck, Eichendorff and others appeared as graceful wantonness seemed in Immermann's writings to be clumsy, baroque and often ugly. Not until he completely freed himself from romantic influence did he produce works in harmony with his nature." This latter statement is inaccurate. Immermann suffered during the first ten years of his career from the vagaries of romanticism; during the last ten years he profited by its virtues. He never became completely free from the influence of romanticism. What he did was to learn

that of Lessing and his day, Immermann writes: "The struggle between the two parties is not yet over, but victory seems to be coming to the better side." He means the romanticists.

Let it be said in this connection that prose is always translated unless there be some inherent reason for not doing so. Poetry and titles of works are left untranslated. If this latter seems unjustifiable in the case of works by other than German authors, it must not be forgotten that Immermann concerned himself, for example, neither with *El Principe Constante* nor with *the Firm-hearted Prince* but with *Der standhafte Prinz*.

⁴ Cf. XVII, 404.

⁵ Cf. *Karl Immermann. Sein Leben und seine Werke aus Tagebüchern und Briefen an seine Familie zusammengestellt*. Herausgegeben von Gustav zu Putnitz. Berlin, 1870 (I, 134). This work was really written by Immermann's widow, Marianne Niemeyer, and edited by Putnitz. It will be quoted throughout as "P." It is written with more feeling than science, and is valuable chiefly because of the numerous letters and quotations from the poet's diary that are included.

to control it. It was the critical side of the school to which he claimed (1824) to belong. Yet the romanticism in his creative works bulks larger than in his critical ones. And some of his best criticism, of romantic works, and in the romantic spirit, was done after 1830.

Two other statements by Putlitz are significant in that they concern unpublished writings of Immermann's student days. Of his literary productivity while attending the Convent of our Dear Lady at Magdeburg (1807-1813), Putlitz writes:⁸ "There are a number of finished themes still extant, all of which evince a poetic nature. They treat the most variegated topics and betray very decidedly the influence of romanticism." Concerning his university days at Halle (1813-1817), Putlitz writes:⁹ "There are but few traces of original composition during his stay at Halle. One not unimportant fairy tale of the year 1817 is to be found. In it are mingled quaint echoes of E. T. A. Hoffmann and graceful reminiscences of Tieck's 'Phantasmus.'"

Immermann himself describes¹⁰ the joy he experienced on leaving rationalistic Magdeburg and going to romantic Halle as follows: "Every evening a pilgrimage was made to Giebichenstein and Crellwitz. There Tieck's star rose before us and filled us with unspeakable joy. Then the wonderful fairy world did really rise in its ancient splendor. How often did we rush home in the moonlit magic night that holds the senses captive, exulting over the Huntsman, the students Lion and Tiger, Puss, Red Ridinghood and King Gottlieb." But this joy was to be shortlived. He had gone to Halle at Easter (1813) and in August of the same year the university was closed by order of Napoleon. Then came a time of independent study. Of this period he writes:¹¹ "The loneliness in which I was obliged to live for about two months, in a strange place, while still so young, brought about a situation resembling a Callot picture in which witches, devils and bogies disport themselves. I read Fouqué's 'Zauberring,' Arnim's 'Gräfin Dolores' and 'Ahasver,' Brentano's 'Ponce de Leon'

⁸ Cf. P. I, 16.

⁹ Cf. P. I, 37.

¹⁰ Cf. XVIII, 114.

¹¹ Cf. XVIII, 117-118. Written 1839, under the caption: *Pädagogische Anekdoten.*

and other works of this hyperromantic tendency. I began to fear ghosts in daylight. The swarming, spooky figures kept springing through my room. I do not know to what end it would have led if the call to arms had not put a sudden stop to this sort of thing."

The disfavor with which Immermann here views ultra-romanticism is somewhat similar to his general impression of French romanticism, whose development and character he carefully studied, and for whose leader, Victor Hugo, he had but scant sympathy. Writing¹⁰ (December 15, 1829) to Michael Beer, then in Paris, he says: "The French seem to be trying to create a new poetic school *en grand galop*. It is an interesting phenomenon, but I fear that not nearly so much will come of the whole spectacle as they plan. This French romanticism is not the product of a deep, dark, heartfelt impulse, but owes its origin rather to the fact that they have become tired of the old hacknied forms; also from a certain ambition to be free and versatile, like the Germans and English." Beer wrote (January 29, 1830) that the two camps, classic and romantic, were eagerly awaiting Hugo's "Hernani," and that a literary battle would be fought on its appearance. Immermann wrote (April 2, 1830) to Beer: "'Hernani' is just such a work as I have long expected from the French who have bound themselves to romanticism as one binds one's self to the Devil. I have long had a feeling that we would sometime have a chance to take vengeance on the French for the contempt with which they treated our foaming, gushing literature of former days. The time has come. They are beginning to write a whole series of works that for extravagance and madness surpass anything the Germans ever wrote. And the first of this cycle is 'Hernani,' the product of absolute inner coldness which tries to be warm and sprightly." Hugo's "Cromwell" fared no better. Immermann wrote (October 28, 1830): "What a monster this 'Cromwell' is! It is simply a travestied repetition of the *siècle de Louis XIV.* Then they botched their

¹⁰ Cf., for the entire correspondence, *Michael Beers Briefwechsel*, hrsg. von Eduard v. Schenk. Immermann was also acquainted with the works of de Vigny (Beer, p. 83), Lamartine (XVIII, 214), George Sand (XVIII, 98) and Rousseau (XVIII, 155).

Greek models, now they bungle their romantic ones." Immermann thought also of writing a treatise on French romanticism. He wrote (October 28, 1830) to Beer: "One could write a very interesting essay on the French romantic school. Commencing with Voltaire, who first began to disturb the old system, one could go on through Diderot, and from Madame de Staël and the other intermediaries come on down to the moderns. But one would not increase the number of his friends among the French by such a treatise."

Immermann traveled frequently and wisely, devoting his time with about equal love to nature, art and literature. A reproduction of connected extracts from his Bamberg correspondence will show how romantic associations attracted him late in life:¹¹

"Bamberg is full of collectors of rarities and oddities that concern art. In this respect, it resembles Cologne. I visited one of the most prominent of these, Joseph Heller, who has written an interesting monograph on Albrecht Dürer. I found his room full of books, manuscripts, escutcheons, copper-plate engravings and free-hand sketches. I was especially interested in the drawings that Dürer made on his journey to the Netherlands. I was introduced to C. F. Kunz, who, under the name of Z. Funck has edited the 'Memoirs' of E. T. A. Hoffmann and Wetzlar. Incidentally, Kunz is very fond of my works. From the summit of the Altenburg I saw the little tower in which Hoffmann lived while musical director here (1810-1811). He painted the walls with frescos from the history of Altenburg, portraying himself as squire, hurdy-gurdy-man and so on, just as his fancy dictated.

"Bamberg has an intellectual past that appeals strongly to

¹¹ Cf. XX, 25-39. The letters were written (1837) two years earlier than the preceding Halle reminiscences, portray, however, his attitude twenty-four years later. The content is given literally, the irrelevant parts being omitted. The same sort of picture could be drawn from the *Wunsiedel*, letters referring to Jean Paul. The letters are important in that they reveal a pronounced romantic tendency to study old manuscripts, art collections, cathedrals, etc. At this time, however, Immermann had lost interest in Jean Paul. (Cf. XVIII, 51: "What an impression these scenes once made upon me! How I worried and suffered with Siebenkäs! And now?—What are Jean Paul's works to me now?").

the wanderer. Here Hegel lived after the battle of Jena and completed his 'Phänomenologie des Geistes.' Here Count Soden, and later Holbein conducted the theatre. Here Calderons 'Andacht zum Kreuz' was performed for the first time and received with tremendous applause. It was soon followed by 'Die Brücke von Mantabile' and 'Der standhafte Prinz.' Hoffmann painted the decorations after he had failed as musical director because he tried to conduct the opera 'Aline' with the piano and the people did not understand him. His 'Phantasiestücke' and 'Der Hund Berganza' were written here. This was the home of Wetzel; and it was here that the genial physician Marcus, a bosom friend of Steffens conducted his amateur theatre, where such works as Fouqué's 'Eginhard und Emma' were performed. This was the scene of the life and love of Kaiser Heinrich and Kunigunde.

"I was also taken to the room occupied by Kunz. It was filled to the ceiling with rare collections. I thought at once of Jean Paul and 'Quintus Fixlein.' Kunz showed me the little room in which Hoffmann lived. Frau Kauer's dog used to lie before the entrance to this queer building. Hoffmann would talk for hours with this dog from his window, asserting that he understood the dog perfectly, and that the dog understood him better than some of his human contemporaries. This dog is the model of Berganza. It was here that Hoffmann became entangled in the love affair that caused his estrangement in Bamberg circles something after the fashion of the lieutenant in Tieck's 'Vogelscheuche.' I saw here also some pretty colored things by Hoffmann, among others, theatre masks from 'Figaros Hochzeit,' and one where Kreisler goes about in his sleeping gown, smoking his pipe and composing his opera."

Before entering upon a discussion of Immermann's personal relation to the individual romanticists, it will be appropriate to examine his sketch¹² of the romantic school in Germany. The monograph is of more interest than value. It shows that he

¹² Cf. XVIII, 146-168. The essay appears under the caption *Lehre und Literatur*. Though written near the end of his career (1839), it must be borne in mind that, at that time, Heine's *Romantische Schule* was the only pretentious work on romanticism.

was well read without being, from the standpoint of modern investigation, "well informed." This is the gist of his discussion:

The genesis of German literature differs essentially from that of the other five main European literatures. These sprung from romantic soil and attained to greatest perfection in a fundamentally romantic age. In Italy, for example, Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Ariosto and Tasso poetized the mediæval world or its immediate reflection. They developed romantic themes until a classic ideal was reached. But in course of time, the romantic elements disappeared and later generations were forced to resuscitate the old or invent something new. It was impossible to do either successfully, and consequently Camoens, Cervantes, Corneille, Dante and Shakespeare have remained peerless.

German literature, on the other hand, sprang from an unromantic soil and attained to greatest perfection in an essentially unromantic age. There is, to be sure a German literature of the Middle Ages and later: Nibelungen, Tristan, Parzival and Minnesong; then the Mastersingers, Hans Sachs, the Satirists of the Reformation, and finally the Silesian school and Fleming. These are all worthy of respectful consideration, but there is a touch of barbarism in every one of them. They belonged to an age when it was impossible for classical writers to flourish. The Germany of those times lacked, namely, a national individuality, a serviceable language and that broad general culture that prepares, so to speak, the themes for the poet, so that he, like a great general, can stand out and conduct the contest from a distance. But the authors of Nibelungen, Parzival, Amleides and Narrenschiff stood face to face with the world, and the creations were crude.

It was not until the eighteenth century, to produce classic literature, that the great necessities. The necessity of a common language, a more than national culture, a more than national literature, and it only exists in the mind of the author. This is the only way to a more than national literature. And now, when the world is again going to produce creations

from modern life, Germany has hers in the symbols of the modern age.

But this expression of individual views brought with it its difficulties. Content was emphasized to the neglect of an inner, spiritual form such as we find in Shakespeare, Cervantes and Dante. Goethe and Schiller set about to supply the deficiency. They experimented with various forms. Schiller introduced the chorus in "Die Braut von Messina," Goethe wrote "Hermann und Dorothea" and "Die Wahlverwandtschaften," an epic and a novel more dramatic than any of his dramas. But they did not succeed in reconciling form and content.

Another, and more practical attempt to win an appropriate form for German literature was made by the Romantic School. The romanticists approached the matter empirically. They referred to the poets and the romantic literatures that really had a form. With the romanticists it was not simply a question of knighthood, devotion and the past, but they concerned themselves also with the poets who had to do with this sort of things. And they talked more intelligently about these poets than had ever been done before. They drank from the fountain of the past and did not shun, even in unessentials, the imitation of foreign models.

The productive spirits of the school were Fr. Schlegel, Novalis and Tieck. Schlegel leaned heavily on Calderon. Novalis became absorbed in medieval mysticism, consolidated in "Heinrich von Ofterdingen." Tieck created for himself a world of unending necromancy. But Tieck the magician became later Tieck the realist. It looked for a while as if the school would return to the point from which it started. But the disciples brought the school more distinction and notoriety than its founders. And one of the most influential as well as the most affected of these was Fouqué. His works at first produced an effect equal to that of "Werther" and "Die Räuber." But he could not control himself and his Pegasus galloped off with him to the desert. Uhland partly took his place.

This explanation of the genesis of romanticism reveals Im-

mermann's broad reading, his inability to appreciate the first classical period, his misinterpretation of Goethe's and Schiller's "experimenting" with various forms, his overestimation of Fr. Schlegel, his unique characterization of the eighteenth century as distinctively subjective, and his perpetual interest in romanticism as a movement. But his naïve enthusiasm as well as his distorted views can, in turn, be explained. His knowledge of Middle High German was deficient, it was fashionable to attack "Die Braut von Messina," by the eighteenth century he meant from 1770 on, and it was Fr. Schlegel's leaning on Calderon that interested him in this unproductive spirit.

Immermann has also been treated as a romanticist, by a romanticist. The study is by Eichendorff, and is of interest since it is the only¹⁸ treatment of Immermann from the purely romantic viewpoint. In one of his chapters Eichendorff treats¹⁴ Immermann, Rückert and Chamisso as the three most important writers that represent the extreme end of romantic vogue. He declares that these men were poetically homeless. Immermann is described as being *in* romanticism but not *of* it: his nature was sturdy and realistic, his dramas go back to Shakespeare, his novels to Goethe, and his anti-Platen¹⁵ monograph was not a personal defense, but sprang from Immermann's ethical disgust at the bombastic affectation that romanticism had been showing since the days of Fouqué. He declares that Immermann's treatment of Catholicism in "Das Trauerspiel in Tirol" is indifferent and consequently unromantic, that his dramas in general show too much critical reason and too little imaginative fancy,¹⁶ and that Immermann,

¹⁸ Platen did, to be sure, introduce Immermann as the "Romanticist" in his *Romantischer Oedipus*, but this criticism is of little value so far as Immermann is concerned. It was "Nimmermann" that Platen was criticising. He calls Immermann (cf. *Nachschrift an den Romantiker*) "Ein Ueberbleibsel der Zeit, die hoffentlich nun vorbei, Jahrzehntelangen Gequieks romantischer, letzter Schrei." At Heine's request, Immermann wrote (1827) some *xenia* for the second volume of the *Reisebilder*, attacking Oriental verse forms then employed by Platen. In reply Platen wrote (1829) his *Romantischer Oedipus*, where Immermann appears as 'Nimmermann, der Romantiker.'

¹⁴ Cf. *Geschichte der poetischen Literatur Deutschlands*, Vol. 2, pp. 218-226.

¹⁵ Cf. *Der im Irrgarten der Metrik umhertaumelnde Cavalier* (1829).

¹⁶ Cf. *Geschichte des Dramas*, Vol. 4, pp. 167-168.

by trying so many different themes, was attempting to get away from romanticism, and call a new movement into being. He is also accused of literary pessimism, believing that real literature died with Goethe. As a matter of fact, however, it was this very belief that Immermann refuted (1833) in a conversation with Chamisso.¹⁷ Eichendorff's criticisms are too general to be valuable, or even reliable, in the case of a writer whose chief characteristics were his changeableness and receptivity.

Immermann's unfailing interest in romanticism as demonstrated by his personal relations to the individual romanticists can only be indicated. He laid great stress on the value of a friend,¹⁸ and yet he was at times nearly friendless. His contemporaries seem to have found him interesting but eccentric.¹⁹ It is therefore not without significance that his one unwavering friend should have been Ludwig Tieck, that particular member of the romantic generation who possessed the greatest genius for friendship.²⁰ He inspired Immermann at Halle in 1813 and was considered the most capable of completing "Tristan" in 1840. The grand total of Tieck's influence during the intervening years bulks large.

Tieck's Dresden residence (1819-1841) just covers the years of Immermann's poetic activity. He visited Dresden in August, 1820,²¹ September, 1832,²² October, 1833²³ and November, 1839.²⁴ Whether he met Tieck on the first visit can not be determined. It would seem safe to say that he did. Writing, however, eleven years later (July 18, 1831) he begged Tieck's pardon for taking liberties with a man "whose intimate acquaintance he does not enjoy."²⁵ On the second visit, Tieck

¹⁷ Cf. P. II, 53.

¹⁸ Cf. *Epigonen*, Book II, Chap. 9. The theory has been advanced that all friendship is based on selfishness. Hermann (Immermann) replies: "With such a doctrine you would strip spring of its foliage, brutalize humanity and heathenize Heaven."

¹⁹ Cf. Dorothea Tieck, *Erinnerungen an Fr. v. Uechtritz*, p. 161: "Immermann is intellectual and interesting, but there is something uncanny about his nature; I could never confide in him."

²⁰ Cf. Huch, I, 137.

²¹ Cf. P. I, 64.

²² Cf. P. I, 306.

²³ Cf. P. II, 43-46.

²⁴ Cf. P. II, 302-306.

²⁵ Cf. Holtei, *Briefe an Ludwig Tieck*, II, 52: "This remark, 'whose intimate acquaintance I do not enjoy' is inexplicable, for we know that Immermann was cordially entertained by Tieck twelve or eleven years earlier."

explained to him the arrangement of the theatre in Shakespeare's day, and conducted some of his public readings in Immermann's presence. The disciple took up the suggestion at once and carried it out through the rest of his career. It was by reading masterpieces that Immermann first interested the people of Düsseldorf in a classical theatre. On the third visit, Tieck was ill. Immermann took his place in the public readings, reading Tieck's "Tod des Camoens" and his own "Hofer." He was received with great applause. On one occasion Tieck read "Love's Labor Lost" in the Baudissin translation, and on another Holberg's "Der politische Kannegieser." The fourth visit was made with his bride and was largely social. The readings were resumed. The most important incident of this last visit was the discussion of "Tristan und Isolde." Immermann had finished (June 23, 1840)²⁶ the eleven cantos of part one; he had planned to finish the nine cantos of part two by the end of the year. The whole poem was thoroughly discussed by Tieck and himself,²⁷ each one contending for his own views as to the interpretation to be given to the poem. Immermann had affirmed that Tieck had a better knowledge of the Middle Ages than any one then living,²⁸ but he could not accede to Tieck's views as to the proper ending of this great love epic. Tieck looked upon "Tristan" as a glorification of love regardless of morality or justice. Immermann could admit no such treatment. He felt that the decision of the ordeal would have to break the strength of the magic potion and that the acquitted Isolde would have to find the strength of a pure will and the courage of renunciation. Tieck declared that such a treatment would rob the material of its inner and central meaning. This explains why he declined the invitation of Immermann's widow to complete the fragment. The personalities of the two men are clearly revealed by these opposite views.

Immermann's letters²⁹ to Tieck are not letters in the ordinary sense, but rather literary essays and critiques. There is, to be

²⁶ Cf. Karl Immermann: *Blätter der Erinnerung an ihn*, von Ferd. Freilgath, p. 149.

²⁷ Cf. P. II, 303-306.

²⁸ Cf. P. II, 44.

²⁹ Cf. Holtei: *Briefe an Ludwig Tieck*, Vol. II, pp. 47-106.

sure, every evidence that the friendship between the two was most genuine. But only the scientific content concerns this study. The letters cover the period from July 18, 1831, to July 15, 1840; from the completion of Tieck's "Jahrmarkt" to that of "Waldeinsamkeit." As a foreword to the correspondence, the one written on Tieck's sixty-sixth birthday (April 20, 1839)³⁰ will best serve. It is a general recognition of indebtedness; condensed, the letter would read something like the following: "I gladly and openly admit that I am your disciple. All that is in me of a sense of nature, irony, wit and humor, a deep desire to understand the cryptic things of the universe, a longing to appreciate literature and to understand poets—all this has been largely moulded by your teaching, guidance and example. If the time had been ripe, you could have become the father of the German comedy. When I recall the profound, intrepid and sublimated humor in 'Octavian,' 'Kater,' 'Zerbino,' 'Däumchen,' 'Blaubart,' 'Fortunat' and 'Verkehrte Welt,' I can think of only one like you in all poetry, and that is Aristophanes. The statement that your dramas are clever but insuperably difficult to perform is untrue. I staged your 'Blaubart' with less difficulty than I met in preparing Birch-Pfeiffer's 'Glöckner von Notre-Dame.' Your life has been an unfailing source of inspiration to me."

From this it is clear that Tieck's general influence on Immermann was incalculable in quantity and romantic in quality. Some details from the remaining letters³¹ will corroborate the strongest claims.

Immermann sent "Alexis" to Tieck more, he says, out of deference to Tieck's exalted position in German literature than from a desire to see the work performed. Immermann was unromantically honest and sincere, but his inordinate desire to see his works performed on the German stage makes it difficult to accept this statement without modification. He expresses the great joy he experienced on reading "Dichterleben." "In the two Shakespeare stories, the mysterious creative power of your miraculous fancy is most clearly revealed. I can only

³⁰ Cf. IV, 7-10.

³¹ Cf. Holtei, *Briefe an Ludwig Tieck*, Vol. II, pp. 47-106. Detailed pagination of the references is unnecessary since it is easy to follow the letters.

describe the ineffaceable impression I received by saying that when things happen thus and so in these stories, however weird that may seem, we feel that this is the only way it could have happened." Immermann saw nothing impossible in "Däumchen" as a hero of present times. He possibly had his own "Tulifantchen" in mind. He begged Tieck to finish "Tischlermeister" and his dissertation on the "Old-English stage." He preferred the former to "Sternbald," claiming that it had the same mild western-sun illumination and was at the same time much more original. Then follows one of Immermann's queer notions: He sees something decidedly ominous and uncanny in the fact that with each epidemic in Berlin, a philosopher loses his life; Fichte (1814) of typhoid, Hegel (1831) of cholera.

Tieck discusses Immermann's dramas, claiming that one of their faults lies in the extreme length of the last act, which should be, according to Shakespeare, the shortest—simply a summing up of the results. Immermann admits the justice of the criticism. He is collecting through an agent in Belgium some old Spanish romances and dramas which he knows will delight his dear master. Of the Scandinavian romanticist Oehlenschläger, he has just read "Fischerstochter," "Drillinge von Damaskus" and "Aladdin." He knows Tieck would be interested in them. "Hexen-Sabbath" impressed him in an unusual way. "One moves gradually from the light and winsome to the heavier and awe-inspiring." He explains in detail his "Merlin." He reads for the first time "Timon of Athens" in Tieck's translation and appreciates Shakespeare's central theme: Timon's visionary appreciation of the friendship of men. He expresses his utter lack of sympathy with French romanticism. He has just read Brentano's "Die mehreren Wehmüller" and finds the burlesque element very good, the serious element detestable. He meets Steffens in Berlin and finds him congenial but busy. He is going to produce "Blaubart" in Düsseldorf and feels sure of success. "But I shall follow the teaching of your 'Kater': I shall not let the public know that I am going to give them something extra, but let them find that out for themselves; the surprise will be de-

lightful." Tieck's "Tod des Dichters" has been gratefully received by all of Immermann's acquaintances. In "Vogelscheuche" Immermann sees an abundance of the most graceful jesting and delightful nature-philosophy. He fears however that some of Tieck's contemporaries may see personal gibes in the work and avenge themselves on its author. He performs "Macbeth" in Schiller's translation, omitting the witches' scene, which he takes from Tieck. Tieck vindicates his own rendering.

He explains his forthcoming novel ("Epigonen") to Tieck but is apprehensive as to its reception; he says the Rahels, Bettines, Stieglitzes, Jung-Deutsche, Atheists and warmed-over Holbachs are furnishing Germany with her literary pabulum now-a-days! He has just performed Calderon's "Richter von Zalamea," declaring the piece to be a sort of Spanish Iffland. The theatrical adventures in "Tischlermeister" are wonderful! Here is symbolized the history of the whole German theatre. And despite all this temptation to realism, the work is as fresh as "Phantassus."

Immermann had ridiculed A. W. Schlegel in "Epigonen,"²² Tieck defends him, whereat Immermann vindicates his attack by saying that a work of such a broad nature must concern itself with idiosyncrasies of the epoch, that jokes have always been common in German literature, and that the Schlegels in their day spared no one, flaying Voss, Niebuhr and Schiller alike. Immermann is now reading Ben Johnson²³ and his school. When the time is more favorable, he hopes to produce Massinger's "Duke of Milan." He is extremely enthusiastic over the performance of Shakespeare on a stage such as was used in Shakespeare's time. He declares the effect of such a performance, where the stage is stripped of all scenic allotria, is remarkable, even when done by dilettanti. In the last paragraph of the last letter he asks Tieck to send him some references on the old Spanish theatre; he needs it so badly. He evidently wanted it for the "Düsseldorfer Anfänge."

This is the content of these heart effusions of Immermann to his "bosom friend and dear master," so far as they con-

²² Cf. *Epigonen*, Book III, Chap. 6.

²³ Immermann's spelling.

cern romanticism. And with the romantic references eliminated, there is nothing left but conventional trivialities. The casual references to Tieck throughout his writings are numerous and appreciative. Only once does Immermann's feeling of self-importance seem to rise when he refers to Tieck⁸⁴ as His Poetic Holiness, Pope Tieck I.

Space forbids an itemized account of the other romanticists. A few leading references to Fouqué and Heine can not be omitted. Fouqué was the first⁸⁵ literary acquaintance Immermann made. The friendship, if such it can be called, was cordial but shortlived, extending over a period of not quite two years. Through Fouqué's intercession, the *Frauentaschenbuch* for 1820 contained some poems by Immermann, among others, "Das Requiem" and "Jung Osrik." Fouqué wrote a very severe criticism of these, which Immermann accepted in good faith, but to which he replied⁸⁶ in a long letter, vindicating his own poetic idea. The correspondence of 1818-1819 shows Fouqué in all his chivalric affability. He looks forward to the time when he can work more directly with his "noble young friend and colleague in the cause of letters." Then came the news of Immermann's "ungentlemanly" conduct at Halle concerning the Teutonia fraternity, and Fouqué at once severed all connection with Immermann, officially and socially.⁸⁷ It was just what was to be expected. The two men were radically different in temperament and talent. Eichendorff called⁸⁸ Fouqué the Don Quixote of romanticism. If the soubriquet be correct, it would be fairly appropriate to designate Immermann the Sancho Panza of romanticism. He afterward satirized Fouqué in "Edwin" and "Tulifäntchen."

Immermann's relation to Heine is a more fruitful theme. In the summer of 1822 he wrote a review of Heine's first poems for the *Rheinisch-Westfälischer Anzeiger*. Karpeles says⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Cf. XVII, 160.

⁸⁵ Cf. P. I, 47.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Briefe an Fouqué*, hrsg. von Albertine Baronin de la Motte Fouqué, pp. 160-166.

⁸⁷ Cf. P. I, 48. Letter dated March 14, 1820. Immermann had reported to the Minister of the Interior at Berlin the case of a Halle student who had been hazed by members of the Teutonia fraternity. Immermann won his point, but with it an unpleasant disfavor among the students.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Geschichte der poetischen Literatur Deutschlands*, Vol. 2, p. 159.

⁸⁹ Cf. Gustav Karpeles, *Heinrich Heine*, p. 160.

that this review can be considered as the starting point of Heine's fame. It was the first favorable criticism that Heine enjoyed, and the result was a friendship which, despite the fact that it has been somewhat idealized by Heine-Immermann critics, has in it an underlying note of bias. Heine and Immermann were radically different in all essentials. Both were vainly ambitious, and both were pining for recognition.

The letters of Immermann to Heine were lost in the Hamburg fire (1833). There are extant fifteen letters of Heine to Immermann, two of Immermann to Heine. Those of Heine cover a period of ten years (December 24, 1822, to December 19, 1832). The one accessible letter⁴⁰ of Immermann is dated February 1, 1830. There is a danger of getting a wrong impression from letters by compiling superlative passages, but this is the most feasible way to present Heine's relation to Immermann:

"I shall never forget the day on which I read your tragedies ('Ronceval,' 'Edwin,' 'Petrarka') and, half mad with joy, told my friends about them. I place you next to Oehlenschläger among the living dramatists, for Goethe is dead. Don't expect them to be performed in Berlin—for that they are too good! I was deeply moved by what you said of my poems in the *Anzeiger*. You are the first to appreciate the real source of my dark woes. People have tried to compare me with you. But I am not worthy to be named beside you (!). And yet, let us be comrades-in-arms in the struggle against wrong, for poetry is after all only a pretty side-issue. I am going to speak a good word for you with Varnhagen von Ense. He is a man of strong character and unswerving loyalty. He can help us both. I like the frank way in which you discuss my humble poetic efforts (Poetereien). I have just read your work⁴¹ on Goethe and Pustkuchen and can not admire it enough. I asked Junker Dunst⁴² Fouqué what he thought of your tragedies. He did not wholly deny you talent. Won't you review my two tragedies for the *Anzeiger*? If you do, don't spare the author. The passage in your tragedy⁴³

⁴⁰ Cf. Gustav Karpeles, *Heinrich Heine*, pp. 168-169.

⁴¹ *Brief an einen Freund über die falschen Wanderjahre*.

⁴² Cf. *Edwin*.

⁴³ *Das Thal von Ronceval*, Act IV, scene 3.

where Zoraide flees to Roland moves me to tears every time I read it. It seems to me as though I myself had tried to write it and could not finish it because of too great grief. There is a similar passage in my 'Almansor.' I hope soon to meet you and then grow old with you (June 10, 1823). My weakness lies in the monotony of my themes. You have this in common with Shakespeare, that your themes include the whole world; you seem, however, to be unable to concentrate.⁴⁴ I could not wish to write a better book than your 'Cardenio.' In this work our souls have found a rendezvous. I am going to dedicate the third part of my 'Reisebilder'⁴⁵ to you. I like your 'Friedrich' much better than your 'Hofer.' Your 'Tulifantchen' is admirable, only some parts are too long drawn out and the metre needs much revision. I send you a number of suggested changes. Your 'Carneval und Somnambule' shows a masterly prose." The last letter (December 19, 1832) is from Paris, and in it Heine asks Immermann to write an article on the status of painting in Germany.

This is the essential content of Heine's letters⁴⁶ to Immermann so far as they concern the literary personality of the addressee. Otherwise they are full of Heine's hackneyed cries of woe brought on by sickness, the meanness of publishers, the hostility of critics and the stupidity of the public. It is difficult to read out of such a correspondence the foundation for such a friendship⁴⁷ as existed between Immermann and Tieck, or any of the other friends of Immermann, excepting possibly

⁴⁴ This and the references to *Tulifantchen* are almost the only calm, judicial remarks in the entire correspondence.

⁴⁵ *Die Bäder von Lucca*.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Heines Briefe*; gesammelt und hrsg. von Hans Daffis, 2 vols., Berlin, 1906. For a full statement of the relation of Heine to Immermann, cf. Karpeles, *Heinrich Heine*, pp. 160-171. An interesting remark concerning the relation of Heine to Immermann is that by Tieck (*Holtei Briefe*, May 10, 1835): "I can not express to you my sense of displeasure, when I heard how Heine praises you. I have just been reading some of this vagrant's works."

⁴⁷ Aside from these, Immermann's four most intimate friends were M. Beer (1800-1833) the author of "Struensee," K. Schnaase (1798-1861) author of *Ges. d. bildenden Künste* and editor of Immermann's unfinished works, Fr. von Uechtritz (1800-1853) author of two dramas reviewed by Immermann, and W. Schadow (1789-1862) the leader of the art circle at Düsseldorf, who had a far reaching influence on Immermann.

Fouqué.⁴⁸ Heine and Immermann became personally acquainted at Easter, 1824, at Magdeburg. He did not always praise Immermann when writing to others about him. He declared that "Periander" was the worst masterpiece he had ever read. Yet it must be said that the friendship was lasting. When Heine learned of Immermann's death, he wrote to Heinrich Laube: "What a misfortune! I wept the whole night long."

Aside from Immermann's personal relation to the romanticists, what did the very term "romantisch," which meant so much to them, mean to him? Although he used it with sufficient frequency⁴⁹ to prove his honest and perpetual interest, it can not be said that he ever employed the word in a decidedly odd, vague or unusual sense. Novalis, for example, wrote:⁵⁰ "Nichts ist romantischer als was man gewöhnlich Welt und Schicksal nennt. Wir leben in einem colossalen Roman. Betrachtung der Begebenheiten um uns her. Romantische Orientirung, Beurtheilung und Behandlung des Menschenlebens." Such unelaborated, comprehensive, partly self-evident and partly contradictory expressions do not occur in Immermann's writings. He employed the term very frequently in a purely conventional sense, as when he describes⁵¹ Prince Louis

⁴⁸ Of the other romanticists, Immermann had a personal acquaintance with M. Boissereé (P. II, 33), Chamisso (P. II, 53), Eichendorff (at Berlin, 1833) A. v. Humboldt (Berlin, 1833), W. v. Humboldt (P. I, 132), W. Müller (Magdeburg, 1825), Schleiermacher (Berlin, 1833), Rahel (P. I, 147), Steffens, A. W. Schlegel, Uhland and Varnhagen.

Of the other literary figures of his time, romantic and otherwise, he had either a personal or epistolary connection with Börne, Dannecker, L. Devrient, Eckermann, Freiligrath, Gutzkow, Theodor Hell, J. E. Hitzig, Hauff, Kohlrausch, Metternich, Müllner, G. Pfizer, Raupach, Rauch, Schinkel, H. von Sybel, Solger, Ranke, L. Rellstab, Eduard von Schenk, Adolf Stahr, Wienberg, and Christian von Zedlitz, the Austrian romanticist, who bore about the same sort of transitional relation to romanticism as Immermann.

⁴⁹ To be pedantically exact, the word "romantisch" occurs 52 times in Immermann's printed works. Of these, 16 give no idea as to his interpretation of the term being simply such expressions as "das Romantische, sowohl als das Reale" (XX, 202). It is possibly not without significance that in one of these he refers (X, 108) to Delavigne as his favorite among the French romanticists.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Novalis Schriften* (Heilborn), 2ter Teil, 2te Hälfte, p. 584.

⁵¹ Cf. XVIII, 58.

Ferdinand. "Seine Tapferkeit, Bonhommie, seine **grosse** Begabung für Musik nicht minder als seine **Waghalsigkeiten** und forcirten Ritte nach Berlin und als selbst seine **Schulden**, Ausschweifungen und Liebeshändel hatten ihn in **alle** **Lichter** romantischer Beleuchtung gestellt."

In addition to a few miscellaneous uses, as when he writes⁵² to Michael Beer concerning his comedy "Nenner und Zähler" and says: "In diesem Lustspiele haben Sie vom Zufall **einen** recht romantischen Gebrauch gemacht, er behält seine **ganze** Wildheit und hat doch einen Anstrich höherer Weisheit, **etwas** wie ein komisches Fatum erhalten"—in addition to such use of the term, he employed it in six essentially different ways: as equivalent to "romanhaft," to portray a mood, to designate mediævalism, to describe landscapes and views, as the opposite of prosaic reality and in referring to the Romantic School, its poets and their creations. Thus, in order:

"Für Rucciopuccio blieb Emerentia daher die Freiin von Schnurrenburg-Mixpickel und hiess Marcebille, weil ihr dieser Taufname besonders süß und romantisch klang."⁵³ Then, Immermann is criticising⁵⁴ the modern school of painting at Düsseldorf, with special reference to Ernst Deger. He writes: "Und wenn diese Stimme eben die sentimental-romantische war, und wenn darin das Weiche, Ferne, Musikalische, Contemplative anstatt des Starken, Nahen, Plastischen, Handelnden vorwaltete, warum scheltet Ihr die Malerei, da Ihr die Poesie gelobt habt, der Ihr alle einen Theil Eurer Bildung verdankt?" Medievalism is referred to in his remark concerning his method of procedure in "Tristan." He writes⁵⁵ to Tieck: "Das conventionell Riterliche oder Romantische, wie man es nennen will, würde mich genieren und kein Leben unter meiner Hand gewinnen." And what he means by "romantic" is the great number of French terms that Gottfried had used in describing the chase, and the general mediæval expressions that became an essential part of Gottfried's description of special occasions.

When applied to situations in nature, the term meant to Im-

⁵² Cf. *Beers Briefwechsel*, hrsg. von Schenk, p. 234.

⁵³ Cf. I, 60.

⁵⁴ Cf. XX, 204-205.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Holtei Briefe*, II, 102.

mermann something bizarre, wild, cliffy or reminiscentially picturesque. He describes⁵⁶ the Moritzburg at Halle: "Die Moritzburg liegt mit ihren rundlichen Pavillons und der einsamen Terrasse so heimlich zwischen den umbüschten Wasserspiegeln. Ich fuhr diesen Nachmittag dahin; eine klare und scharfe Luft strich die röthlichen Blätter von den Zweigen; in der ganzen Gegend regte sich nichts Lebendiges. Für Jagdschlösser habe ich eine grosse Zärtlichkeit; wundersame Geschichten knüpfen sich an ihre Säle; es ist, als ob Einen da der Hauch eines romantischen Lustspieles unwehe." As opposed to reality, he describes⁵⁷ the Duke in "Die Epigonen" as follows: "Dem Herzoge sind alle romantischen Dinge Allotria, um welche sich ein Mann, der Geschäfte hat, nicht bekümmert."

As to romanticists, he has just heard Weber's "Oberon." He writes:⁵⁸ "In dieser romantischen Sphäre fällt Einem immer Mozart ein; da ist die Sache, und hier liegt der Begriff der Sache noch ausser den Tönen." This reference to Mozart as a romanticist is of more than passing interest. Eichendorff, namely, says:⁵⁹ "Die Romantik weckte das geheimnisvolle, wunderbare Lied, das verborgen in allen Dingen schlummert, und Mozart, Beethoven und Weber sind echte Romantiker." But Koch adds in a footnote: "Mozart wird sonst wohl nie zu den Romantikern gezählt. Weber hat (1821) die romantische Oper geschaffen, Beethoven vollendet nach Riehl die klassische Periode der Tonkunst und eröffnet die romantische." Immermann's conception of Mozart as a romanticist is also upheld by E. T. A. Hoffman, who writes:⁶⁰ "Nun! Und eben dies ist der Eindruck des Rein-Romantischen, wie es in Mozarts und Haydns Compositionen lebt und webt."

And finally, he refers (V, 46) to Flämmchen's "romantische Gestalt"; he speaks (IX, 41) of a certain scene as being "so südlich, so romantisch"; he regrets (X, 114) that in the Russian literature of Bulgarin and Puschkin there is a lack of "romantischer Zauber"; he calls (XIV, 6) "Die Prinzen von Syrakus," with its unending round of puns, literary travesties,

⁵⁶ Cf. X, 135-136. ⁵⁷ Cf. V, 110. ⁵⁸ Cf. X, 28. ⁵⁹ Cf. D. N. L., 146, II.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Sämmtliche Werke*, Grisebach, Vol. 7, p. 152.

masks, estrangements and surprises "ein romantisches Lustspiel"; he sees (XVII, 72) romanticism in the family relations in Goethe's "Natürliche Tochter" and "Wahlverwandtschaften"; he speaks (XX, 110) of the "romantische Neigung" of Gebhard, Truchsess von Waldburg, Archbishop of Cologne for Agnes von Mansfeld; he refers (P. I, 353) to his first journey down the Rhine as a "romantisches Epos," and he says (Beer's Briefwechsel, p. 71) Goethe's nature impelled him "zum Naïven, Sentimentalen, Romantischen." In short, the word meant to Immermann what it meant to his epoch. This can not be gotten at historically⁶¹ or etymologically,⁶² nor can it be synonymized. It can only be determined by a comparative study of all the passages in which the word occurs.

And finally, reference must be made to Immermann's romantic lore as gaged by his private library.⁶³ He was profoundly read in German romanticism, and was possessed of

⁶¹ Cf. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, Bd. XXVI, 192f; Ludwig Hirzel shows how the term "romantisch" came to Germany from France and England, through Switzerland. In this article, dated January 2, 1882, Hirzel traces it to 1734, thus taking it back six years previous to the use in Breitinger's *Kritische Dichtkunst*, II, 283 (1740). But in 1888, Hirzel (cf. *Anzeiger f. d. A. u. Lit.*, Bd. XV, 223-226) traces the word to what he thinks its first use, namely, in Gotthard Heidegger's *Mythoscopia Romantica* (1698). That this is the first use Hirzel attempts to prove by the fact that the word occurs in no form in a dictionary in *Deutsch*, *Frantzösisch* and *Latein* that appeared in 1695. Nor does the word "romantique" appear in the dictionary of the French Academy of 1694. In 223 pages of Heidegger's work, the word occurs once as "romanisch," once as "romanzisch" and thirteen times as "romantisch." Earlier, however, than the date here given by Hirzel for German is Sir William Temple's use of the term in 1690, in his essay *On Ancient and Modern Learning*, and John Evelyn's use of it in his diary in 1664.

⁶² Cf. *Grimms deutsches Wörterbuch*, Vol. VIII, 1151-1161.

⁶³ *Catalog der Bibliothek*. A copy of the catalogue of Immermann's library as contained in the Goethe-Schiller Archives at Weimar was secured through the custodian of the archives. There are 1142 volumes listed. Of the German romanticists, the familiar authors are all represented. From England there are the works not only of Ben Jonson, Prior, Swift, Gibbon, Fielding, Sterne, Pope, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Milton and Shakespeare, but also those of Collins, Gray, Burns, Byron and Scott. From France there are not only the works of Rabelais, Voltaire, Corneille, Racine, Molière, Rousseau, Bossuet, Montesquieu, Pascal and Richelieu, but also those of Hugo, with the greatest number, De la Vigne, Béranger,

more than accidental interest in the romanticism of France and England. He had gathered various collections and isolated works that have ever served as romantic sources.

Was Immermann a romantic character? In studying the personalities of orthodox romanticists, two things become at once apparent: each one has some traits diametrically opposed to those of his colleague. Poverty consumed Kleist, affluence Brentano. And each one has some traits obviously possessed by those who are in no sense romanticists. So with Immermann: he did not have as consistently a romantic character as did Tieck, the Schlegels, Novalis and Wackenroder, nor did he live as romantic a life as did Hölderlin, Kleist, Brentano, Werner or Hoffmann. It is with his life as with his works; the romantic features are numerous but fragmentary, forming no coherent whole. He had some eccentricities that lead one to expect romanticism in his works. Not that these are the same as those possessed by any one of the genuine romanticists. They need not be. It is eccentricities in general that help make a poet a romanticist. It is the existence of eccentricities in the lives of Poe and Whitman that explains the romanticism in their works. It is the absence of eccentricities in the lives of Longfellow and Lowell that explains the absence of romanticism in their works.

From his tenth year on he was possessed of an abnormal desire to read and gather facts, something after the fashion of Fr. Schlegel. He read, he tells us,⁶⁴ anything and everything—agricultural reports and the "Divine Comedy." One of the first books he read was Rathmann's "Geschichte von Magde-

Lamartine, Ségur, Mezeray and Barthélemy. Aside from these, and in general, are the works of Ariosto, Boccaccio, Tasso, Dante and Petrarch, The epics and dramas of Cervantes and Calderon, the early philological researches in the Middle High German field by the Grimms, Simrock, Hofstätter, von der Hagen and San Marte, together with Ossian, the Eddas, the Frithjofsage, Arabian Nights, Rückert's *Morgenländische Sagen*, *Theatre Français Moderne* (15 vols.), *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, *Volksbücher* and miscellaneous compilations. Goethe leads the list with 63 volumes, Shakespeare is represented by 30 volumes.

⁶⁴ Cf. XVIII, 107ff.

burg," one of the last, Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered." Forbidden as a child to read more than a certain amount each day, he smuggled in "Polyeucte," and was surprised by his father much after the fashion of Goethe with the "Messias." He explains the trait as being a "sickness," that did not spring simply from a desire to satisfy a superficial curiosity, but from a longing to penetrate the centre of the unknown.

Another striking feature of his character was the way in which the dark attracted him, as also the hidden and mysterious.⁶⁶ He uprooted plants simply to study the complicated fibers and minute insect life that gathered about the roots. A sealed package of documents charmed him beyond measure. An unused chest in a dark, unused room was to him a Holy of Holies. These are traits common to many children; but they remained with Immermann through life, influencing his poetry to the very last. His favorite color was always black, and the reader is struck by the ever repeated recurrence to "unheimliche Abgründe" and "dunkle Höhlen." The picturing of such is a cardinal feature of his writings.

And then the contradictions in his life and his fondness for sharp contrasts. He could not reconcile himself to the fact that there must be a known and an unknown world. He was at odds with the known world about him, and his longing to fathom the unknown, something after the fashion of Kleist, left him discordant and unhappy. He claimed that duplicity was the chief characteristic of his inner nature, and that equivocality, or rather ambiguity, was the curse of the epoch in which he lived. He believed, with Tieck, that there is only a second between joy and sorrow, pietism and blasphemy, patriotism and treason. He traced the schism in his own nature to heredity: his father, a stern, brusque, heavy personality married, at forty-five, the lenient, tender hearted, cheerful eighteen-year-old daughter of the village vicar. And yet, it was not the world-woe and distraction that plagued Heine or Lenau which we see in Immermann. Lenau was only a poet. Immermann, like Hoffmann, had a variety of interests. His vocation was law, his avocation was literature, his recreation was derived from travel, and his hobby was the theatre.

⁶⁶ Cf. XVIII, 108.

This dwelling of two souls in one breast is also a common trait in the world at large. But that it was abnormally developed in Immermann is seen in the way it influenced his writings. His main works, as is evident at casual readings, and as he states, are all built on the contrast scheme. Aside from many poems in which it is applied, "Die Verschollene" moves in two wholly different worlds: the mystic one of Theresia and the realistic one of her earthly fiancé. "Das Auge der Liebe" is equally divided between fairyland and the land of crassest realities. "Kaiser Freidrich II" shows the struggle between the papal church and the imperial state. "Tulifäntchen" depicts the struggle between the dwarf and the giant, and contradiction is literally glorified as lord of the universe. "Hofer" was meant to bring out the elegance of the French as contrasted with the Tyrolese peasants. "Carnaval und Somnambule" shows the difference between will and can. "Merlin" is the apotheosis of contradiction, while "Epigonen" and "Münchhausen" are both arranged on the contrast scheme, peasants against nobility.

Another trait that Immermann possessed, in common with other romanticists, was his somewhat supercilious, presumptuous attitude toward the great writers of his day. And this is so much the more striking in his case, because theoretically he saw the safety of the world only in the appearance of great men.⁶⁶ This probably came from his parental training. His father was a worshipper of Frederick the Great. Immermann says that in his childhood he could scarcely distinguish between Frederick and God.⁶⁷ History was for him only the biography of kings, geniuses, heroes and prophets.⁶⁸ But practically he did not adhere to this doctrine. There is something presumptuous in his defense of Goethe in the Pustkuchen affair, and he ridiculed the Goethe cult in "Epigonen."⁶⁹ He placed "Faust" below Calderon's "Wunderthätiger Magus."⁷⁰ In his treatise on the genesis of the romantic school, he attacked⁷¹ the art-sense of Goethe and Schiller. He saw in Schiller only a dramatist of youth and for youth.⁷² "Die Räuber" and

⁶⁶ Cf. IX, 85.

⁶⁷ Cf. VI, 168.

⁷² Cf. XVIII, 164.

⁶⁸ Cf. XVIII, 42.

⁷⁰ Cf. XIX, 134.

⁷¹ Cf. XVIII, 162.

⁶⁹ Cf. X, 150.

"Fiesco" he rejected, and "Die Braut von Messina" he declared⁷³ a failure.

When, on the other hand, he made (1837) a pilgrimage to the tomb of Goethe, he was, in addition to revering Goethe's name, also following up that old tendency of his to visit cemeteries. He wrote some of his best poems as a result of frequent visits to the cemetery at Düsseldorf.⁷⁴ He thought frequently of death, and it is a romantic coincidence that he, like Wackenroder, Runge, Löben, Ritter and Novalis, died before he had reached maturity. Lenau and Hölderlin, though they grew old in body, died young in spirit. The romanticists, as romanticists, consumed themselves in their youth.⁷⁵ Even Tieck and Fouqué did their best service for romanticism when young. Immermann had used himself up at forty-four.

Aside from these traits, Immermann possessed many others that can be classified but not explained as romantic. Until the last year of his life, he was without a home, wandering around. He traveled extensively, but not as Don Quixote, Sternbald or Taugenichts; he traveled as did Görres, Schelling, Eichendorff or Kerner, to refresh himself and then return more vigorously to serious life. He was inordinately fond of the theatre. His Düsseldorf undertaking ranks him with Goethe, Tieck, Laube and Wagner as a regisseur. He was also an actor of no mean ability. For an Easter celebration (1833), he wrote "Albrecht Dürers Traum," and he himself played the rôle of Dürer. He wrote to his brother: "I feel sure that I could make my living as an actor." Tieck, the Schlegels and Schelling were similarly inclined and equally endowed. Under the inspiration of Schadow, he made a thorough study of Catholicism. This sounds like a romantic tendency, but it lacks the essential feature; Immermann never became a Catholic. His eighteen years (1821-1839) of intimate association with that extremely romantic woman, Gräfin Lützow, resembles also one of the many romantic affairs. But it lacks the final stamp of romanticism. She was divorced (1825) from her military husband of *wilde Jagd* fame, out of admiration for Immermann. He insisted upon marriage. She re-

⁷³ Cf. XVII, 452.

⁷⁴ Cf. XI, 345.

⁷⁵ Cf. Huch, II, 156ff.

fused, stating that she wished to avoid publicity and be free in her love—she called it feeling—for Immermann. After this prolonged acquaintance, he took leave of her and married the nineteen-year-old Marianne Niemeyer, with whom he lived one year of unmixed joy. The affair concerned his works more than his life. It resulted in words rather than deeds. Immermann's character was not preëminently romantic; it only resembled that of a romanticist.

CHAPTER II

ROMANTIC SOURCES: (1) MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN, (2) ROMANCE, (3) FOLKSONG, (4) MISCELLANEOUS

Mir sind die Gelehrten immer höchst seltsam vorgekommen, welche die Meinung zu haben scheinen, das Dichten geschehe nicht vom Leben zum Gedicht, sondern vom Buche zum Gedicht.—Eckermann.

Literary movements go in pairs, one extreme calling forth the opposite. The generation of German poets born in the last three decades of the eighteenth century was confronted, on coming to years of poetic maturity, by the classicism of Lessing, Goethe and Schiller, the rationalistic philosophy of Voltaire, Shaftesbury and Moses Mendelssohn, and the rationalistic literature of Nicolai, Iffland and Kotzebue. The romanticists revolted. Reason, objectivism, the present and classic form were to be replaced by fancy, subjectivism, the past, and romantic variety of form. And this poetry was to flow from new bourns: Medieval Germany, Catholic Spain and Italy, the England of Shakespeare and Scott, the lawless and ubiquitous folksong—to these religious pilgrimages were to be made, as well as irregular excursions to miscellaneous sources. Immermann did not participate in these; he was too young. But he always lent a listening ear to the stories of his elders.

The following statements of Immermann give a reliable clue to the genesis of his works: "All my works are copies of personal experiences.¹ Literature does not produce the conditions of a given epoch, but proceeds from them.² 'Werther' did not produce sentimentality, it only gave it form. For a long while after my tenth year I read, with almost incredible rapidity, anything that came within my reach.³ I have never tried to avoid reminiscences.⁴ Every work of art is an imitation.⁵ I have been called an imitator, and there is a measure of justice in the

¹ Cf. P. II, 271.

² Cf. XVIII, 108.

³ Cf. X, 75.

⁴ Cf. P. II, 233.

⁵ Cf. IV, 8.

accusation.⁶ I believe that my works show some independence and originality, even though I have not refused to lean on foreign models.⁷ I do not know (1838) how 'Münchhausen' is going to end. Is composing (Dichten), after all, anything more than living in the highest power (in höchster Potenz), and do we know how our life will end?"⁸

These confessions, made at different stages of Immermann's life and under varying circumstances, show that a discussion of the genesis of his works falls into three divisions; personal experience, book source and literary reminiscence. The first concerns this study only as a matter of subjectivism. His book sources are in some instances given, in some indicated by the very nature of the work. It is these that are here to be discussed. It is his leaning on various models, and literary reminiscences, however, that make a just estimate of his indebtedness to other poets a matter of absolute impossibility. To explain: "Epigonen" is modeled on "Wilhelm Meister."⁹ Excepting Shakespeare, there are almost no references to men of letters in "Wilhelm Meister." Omitting Shakespeare, Immermann quotes, or refers to, or criticises the following writers in "Epigonen": Aristotle, Arndt, Babo, Basedow, Byron, Cicero, Matthias Claudius, Cramer, Dante, Eutropius, Franklin, Gellert, Gemmingen, Goethe, the members of the Göttinger Hainbund, Hebel, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Claude Henri, Homer, Holbach, Hegel, Iffland, F. H. Jacobi, J. G. Jacobi, Kant, Klopstock, Lessing, Müllner, Mozart, Martial, Nicolai, Novalis, Pestalozzi, Paracelsus, Petrarch, Jean Paul, Madame de Staël, A. W. Schlegel, Gottfried von Strassburg, Sophocles, Scott, Sterne, Swedenborg, Schiller, Tasso, Tacitus, Tieck, d'Urfé, J. H. Voss, Virgil, Wackenroder, K. M. von Weber and Christian Weisse. From this it is plain that an estimation of his indebtedness to other writers is impossible. It is his book sources that concern this study.

A few remarks on Immermann's theory and practice of composition will be in place. Concerning a short story, he says:¹⁰ "In a short story (Novelle) the plot is the main thing,

⁶ Cf. IV, 8.

⁷ Cf. IV, 8.

⁸ Cf. P. II, 216.

⁹ Cf. V, p. x.

¹⁰ Cf. X, 210.

for it must first of all tell something new, since from this idea it derived its name." As to his dramatic theory, he says:¹¹ "It is not the mission of the poet to make his readers acquainted with the unknown; this is the business of science. It is the concern of the dramatic poet to transform the known into a mystery." Writing to Tieck, he says:¹² "You and the lamented Solger have both declared your dislike of arbitrariness in the dramatic treatment of historic themes. Personally, I prefer to give the poet all possible liberty with his material." In his "Brief an einen Freund"¹³ he explains the origin of a work of art. Condensed, his argument is this: a work of art ordinarily arises when some significant phase of life is reflected in the sensitive soul of the poet, and drives his soul on with an indefinable impulse to give expression to this reflection. There is always an external something that first moved the poet to the creation of an original production. It may be in the present, may be in the past. This external something happened to strike a responsive chord in his soul, and then from the external impression and the internal response the poet's creative impulse formed from both a third, neither a faithful copy of the external impression, nor a candid confession of the internal response, but related to both, similar to the external, suggesting the internal, and clarifying both in the divine light of beauty. A poet must pay close attention to realities; he must attach his ideas to something real, existent, or he will soon sink into bottomless fantasticalness. He can not afford to cut himself off from the world. He is only a link in the great chain. God was the original poet. All others are imitators in the great world-poem. And he is the greatest poet who presupposes poetry in his readers. Such is the gist of the theory that Immermann practiced.

What was Immermann's general attitude toward the Germanic Middle Ages? He approached this unfailing source of romantic inspiration neither with the imaginative instinct of a

¹¹ Cf. XVII, 155.

¹² Cf. *Holtei Briefe*, II, 50.

¹³ This letter was written (1823) in defense of Goethe in the Pustkuchen affair, his purpose being to show that, in the very nature of the case, Pustkuchen's work must be a failure—its origin shows that it is not a work of art.

poet like Uhland, nor with the scientific appreciation of a scholar like Von der Hagen. It was romanticism that drew him into the medieval current. He never thoroughly loved the epoch because he never thoroughly understood it.¹⁴ It would be asking much of a poet, who had been brought up with such a reverence for Frederick the Great that, as a boy, it was difficult for him to distinguish between Frederick and God,¹⁵ to require him to love the "Nibelungenlied." It is, on the contrary, rather natural that Immermann should so drastically attack this gospel of German bravery at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of his career.¹⁶ But it must not be inferred from this that he totally denied poetic worth and beauty to all Middle High German literature. He had the habit, in common with the romanticists, of ironically looking down upon things that were, in reality, dear to him. Moreover, he was a fervid admirer of Gottfried von Strassburg,¹⁷ Wolfram von Eschenbach¹⁸ and Ulrich von Zazikoven.¹⁹ He saw genuine poetry in the Eddas.²⁰ When he visited different places, it was

¹⁴ Some of Immermann's irregular ideas concerning M. H. G. are the following: he held all M. H. G. poetry to be touched with barbarism (XVIII, 157). He read (1833) "Parzival" in the Heidelberg MS., and found it gloomy and monotonous: "A part of this dissatisfaction may arise from the difficulty I have in reading the text. A great deal of it I do not understand" (cf. P. II, 22). He wrote to his brother asking him for a prose *resumé* of *Parzival* and *Titirel*, stating that they were obscure in the original (XV, 38). He derived "Gral" from *sang real* (X, 176). He called Hans Sachs a Minnesinger, and Klingsor is referred to as "mythical at the time of Arthur, historical under the Landgrave at the Wartburg (cf. *Diary*, January 11, 1832)." In giving the book source of *Ronceval*, he refers to the Old-German poem "Der Strickäre," meaning "Karl" by der Strickäre (XVI, 7). He held Tieck to be the best informed on M. H. G. poetry of any one then living (P. II, 44). Parzival's questioning he misinterprets, confusing symbolism and reality (cf. Klövekorn, *Immermanns Verhältnis z. d. Altertum*, p. 9). This study by Klövekorn, valuable as it is in certain respects, contains some unusual reasoning. Thus, the author thinks (p. 3) that Immerman read (only) the *Nibelungenlied* in the original since he quotes the opening verse (XVI, 150) in the original! This is somewhat similar to and yet just the reverse of the argument according to which Chaucer rarely read a book through, because the majority of his references are taken from beginning chapters.

¹⁵ Cf. XVIII, 42.

¹⁶ Cf. *Edwin* (1820), *Tulifantchen* (1829), *Münchhausen* (1839).

¹⁷ Cf. XIII, 8.

¹⁸ Cf. P. I, 296.

¹⁹ Cf. XV, 38.

²⁰ Cf. P. I, 252.

medieval reminiscences that awakened deepest interest in him, as did Augsburg and Heinrich von Ofterdingen.²¹ He never tired of reading Tieck's works that concerned medieval times. Even "Oberhof" is not without its reminiscences of the days of Charlemagne and a little later.

If his admiration of the Middle Ages was not as keen as one would expect, the reason is probably to be sought in the training he received at Magdeburg and Halle in the serious side of the matter. The equipment and preparation at Magdeburg were not calculated to inspire but to dampen any enthusiasm he may naturally have had.²² Nor do the records show that he had a really encouraging opportunity at Halle to approach the field philologically.²³ The wonder is that he made as much of it as he did. And what did he make of it? How closely did he follow his medieval book sources? What phase of these attracted him? The answers and parts of the solutions will be given.

The book sources²⁴ of "Das Thal von Ronceval" are Friedrich Schlegel's "Roland"²⁵ and "Karl" by Der Stricker.²⁶ In

²¹ Cf. P. II, 32.

²² Cf. Rosenkranz: *Von Magdeburg bis Königsberg*, p. 96. Rosenkranz (1805-1879) was nine years Immermann's junior. He likewise attended the Convent of our Dear Lady at Magdeburg. He writes unfavorably of the Equipment, and in some instances of the instruction. Cf. p. 97: "Die Hilfsmittel zu diesen Studien waren sehr unvollkommen. Heinsius Teut der Bardenhain, Adelungs Magazin, Eschenburgs Denkmäler, Graeters Iduna, Hagens und Büschings Altdeutsches Museum, Docens Miscellaneen, Jördens Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten, Schilters Thesaurus, Franz Horns Geschichte der deutschen Poesie, Tiecks Minnelieder, Küttners Charaktere deutscher Dichter, v. d. Hagen Grundriss zur Geschichte der ältern deutschen Poesie und ähnliche Schriften waren die Quellen, aus denen ich schöpfte."

²³ Cf. Wilhelm Schrader: *Ges. d. Friedrichs-Universität zu Halle*, 2ter Teil, deals with Halle from 1806 to 1840.

²⁴ Cf. *Briefe an Fouqué*, pp. 160-166.

²⁵ *Roland. Ein Heldengedicht in Romanzen nach Turpins Chronik.* Schlegels sämtliche Werke 2te Orig. Ausgabe. Neunter Band, pp. 5-76. Wien, 1846.

²⁶ *Strickeri Rhythmus de Caroli Magni Expeditionis Hispanica.* Edited by Johann Schilter, Ulm, 1727. This book was one of the "aids" of Immermann's Magdeburg Gymnasium. One can easily see how this work would attract Immermann, fond as he was of old, ponderous volumes. Philologically it belongs to the first quarter of the eighteenth C. Bartsch justifies his new edition (1857) as follows: "Eine neue Ausgabe von

Immermann's drama there are twelve main themes: (1) Karl's call to conquer the Spanish heathen (Prolog). (2) Karl's pledge to appoint Ganelon ruler over the newly acquired territory (I, 1). (3) Roland's love for Zoraide, daughter of Marsilias, King of the Moors (I, 2). (4) Karl's rescue by Roland in the first engagement (I, 4). (5) Moors offer terms of peace (II, 2). (6) Ganelon is appointed special ambassador to the Moors (II, 4). (7) Karl breaks his pledge to Ganelon telling him the governorship in Spain must go to Roland (II, 7). (8) Karl's summons to France to fight against Wittekind (III, 7). (9) Ganelon's treason (IV, 11). (10) Zoraide's baptism (V, 3). (11) Roland's death (V, 11). (12) Punishment of Ganelon and appointment of Zoraide-Maria, the Christian daughter of the heathen king as ruler of Roland's territory in Spain.

When Immermann says he was first interested in this theme through reading Schlegel's "Roland," the statement has but little more significance than the one according to which "Hofers" origin is to be found in Tyrolean folksongs. Schlegel did give Immermann the idea, but he derived his data from Stricker. Schlegel's "Roland" consists of fifteen romances written in unrhymed trochaic tetrameters, the meter that had been introduced from the Spanish. The fourteenth romance contains the song of Roland in trochaic trimeters, four verses to a stanza, in miserable rhyme. Schlegel's poem contains the main motives employed by Immermann, but one can not speak of direct borrowings. The poem contains a few elaborate similes, some moralizing, and a large number of insipid, un-

Strickers Karl wird bei dem ungenügenden Schilterschen Abdruck nicht überflüssig erscheinen." Deetjen (p. 25) thinks that it is possible that Immermann could also have been influenced by Uhland's monograph (1812), *Ueber das altfranzösische Epos*. Also, Fouqué had, in 1808, under the pen name of Pellegrin incorporated *Romanzen vom Thale Ronceval* in his *Alwin*. This study concerns the two sources given by Immermann. It is to be shown also that, contrary to Klövekorn (p. 5) who does not think that Immermann "tortured himself through the 12,000 verses of Stricker" it was Stricker's poem that gave Immermann his main motives. Immermann did read the poem and confined his attention closely to this work. It is one thing to read a M. H. G. poem such as "Parzival," which Immermann admitted was obscure, it is quite another to draw a plot from a chronicle that simply tells unadorned facts.

poetic passages. It is Stricker's poem that Immermann followed. Yet we can not hope to find the same sort of parallel-passage imitation that is found, say in Grillparzer's "Ottokar" and Ottokar von Horneck's "Rheimchronik."

To note, then, the borrowings: Immermann gives Karl's call as being specially to Spain. Stricker makes it general, to all Europe. The situation is about the same. Karl sleeps surrounded by his paladins:²⁷

dā schein ein licht als ein tac;
dar inne quam im ein bote,
ein engel alsō lobesam,
der im ze boten wol gezam. 318-321. (XVI, 15.)

Mention is made of almost all Europe as being just on the eve of coming into subjection to Karl. Spain is referred to (355-358) as being a specially good field for Karl. The entire Ronceval legend is passed in review; finally, the close:

uf huop der engel sīne hant
unde tet sīnen segēn
über Karlen den degen.
dāne sach er sīn niht mē,
dō wart ez vīnster als ē. 442-446. (XVI, 15-16.)

Then Karl's promise to Ganelon: this is the theme that Immermann changed most of all, since it was his purpose to make Karl very human. The axis of Immermann's drama is Karl's breach of promise to Ganelon, which is not found in the sources. In Stricker, Ganelon does not wish to be made special ambassador to the court of Marsilias, since he feels that this is only a scheme on the part of Roland to shelve him. Karl quiets Ganelon's fears on this point as well as he can, and yet

dō schiet er trūrec dannen. 2203.

The love of Roland for Zoraide is typified in Stricker by

²⁷ The quotations are from the Bartsch edition (1857), since Schilter's arrangement of the poem is unwieldy and the lines are unnumbered. The parallel references in Immermann can naturally not be given in detail; they can be easily followed by referring to the scheme of motives given on the preceding page.

Karl's love for the sister of Marsilias.²⁸ Deetjen surmises that this is the theme that Immermann had in mind when he arranged the episode between Roland and Zoraide.²⁹ That this is a safe assumption is argued by the similarity with which Immermann and Stricker picture the danger of this love of the Christian for the heathen. The difference between the two affairs lies in the fact that Karl's love was a youthful one soon to be outgrown, whereas Roland converted Zoraide and made her his bride. Karl's rescue by Roland can be passed over without further discussion. The entire poem is made up of skirmishes, in which Karl becomes more and more indebted to Roland for some deed of generous bravery. The terms of peace and the accompanying gifts offered by the Moors have a very diplomatic ring in Stricker, which Immermann has turned into a beautiful, romantic interlude. Where the gifts are general in Stricker³⁰ and presented by men old in counsel and wisdom, in Immermann's drama they are confined to precious stones and jewels, presented by dainty Moorish youths.³¹ The essentials of Ganelon's appointment and Karl's breach of promise have been discussed. Karl's summons home finds a parallel in the "Rolandslied"³² but Stricker has modified this so that Ganelon's treason is even blacker than in the original:³³ The Moors feel that they can never have perfect peace so long as Karl and Roland are both living. So, on the advice of Ganelon, they persuade Karl that they are eminently satisfied with Roland as a Governor, and that he can quietly return to his native land. The proposition seems reasonable to both Karl and Roland. As to Ganelon's treason, this is much more a matter of fact in Stricker. It is one of the first affairs that confront him in his new position, and is simply a matter of jealousy. Ganelon lies in wait for an opportunity to take vengeance on

²⁸ Cf. 213-244.

²⁹ Cf. 1320-1336.

³⁰ Cf. Deetjen, p. 43.

³¹ Cf. *D. T. v. R.*, II, 2.

³² Cf. *Das Rolandslied*, translated by Wilhelm Hertz, section 56.

³³ Cf. 3740-3749. And 3965-3975:

Ruolant sprach dem keiser dô:
herre, ir sult gern unde vrô
hin wider ze lande kâren.
ich wil nâch iwern êren
den vanen fûeren unze ich lebe. etc.

his more gifted relative. Immermann, by introducing Karl's breach of promise, makes Ganelon's treason explicable, though naturally not excusable. It was simply a step away from the epic to the dramatic. Early in the chronicle, Stricker has Ganelon name his price:

si muosen im bescheiden,
waz si im goldes wolden geben
umb des werden Ruolandes leben.
si gehiezen im hundert tūsent marc.
des wart sîn frōude sō starc,
daz ichz nicht wol gesagen mac. 2488-2494.

Ganelon gives Marsilias the highly prized sword, declaring that the riddance of Roland is the immediate order of the day. A general oath is taken to slay Roland.⁸⁴ Then follows Zoraide's baptism. An exact parallel⁸⁵ is found in Stricker, where Pregmunda is baptized and receives the name Juliane. It is a romantic conversion. Pregmunda confesses her sins, and then asks to be baptized in the faith of Him whom Karl worships:

dar wart ein wazzer getragen,
daz wart gesegent alsō wol,
alse ein touf ze rehte sol.
alse schiere daz geschach,
den gelouben man ir vor sprach
und touftes in die namen drī,
dā wir noch got erkennen bī,
und hiez si Juliāne. 10404-10411. (XVI, 101-102.)

Roland's death in Ronceval is a theme Immermann could have taken from any of the various treatments of the story. He has Roland die surrounded by Walther, Zoraide-Maria, and one could also say his sword and horn, for these too have been his faithful followers in adversity and success. He dies the death of a nineteenth century hero. In Stricker his death is accompanied by all the supernatural accoutrements of medieval mysticism. He briefly recounts the services he has rendered his Kaiser, and then calls for God's messenger. The angel comes:

⁸⁴ Cf. 2878-2881.

⁸⁵ Cf. *D. T. v. R.*, V, 3.

dō wart ein ende siner nōt:
 den (den hantschuoch) enpfie der engel von im.
 er sprach: Ruolant, ich benim
 dir alle dīne swaere.
 als er vernam daz maere,
 dō schiet er und diu sēle sich.
 sus reine und alsō lobelich
 wart Ruolandes ende, etc. 8218–8225.

Immermann spares us the long story of Stricker concerning Ganelon's punishment. There was neither room nor reason for it in the drama. Ganelon, for Immermann, is simply the agent by which the death of Roland is brought about as the result of Karl's infidelity to a trust. In the manipulation of the final theme—the appointment of Zoraide-Maria over the newly conquered Spanish territory, Immermann left his sources, and naturally so. Yet even here there is a suggestion of a parallel. In Stricker there is established a hospital for Pregmunda-Juliane, over which she is to preside.³⁶ There is also to be a St. John Convent, likewise at Ronceval.³⁷ The remoteness of the parallel is plain, though the same general principle is at stake: Karl has conquered the Moors, and the result of his victory is not to be seen simply in the exultation that comes from success, but in availing one's self of the fruits of dearly bought victory. And one final reference: in a letter³⁸ to Fouqué, Immermann said that the basic idea of the drama was "wie das Christentum über Gewalt, List und Verrath durch seine Göttlichkeit und Milde siegt." In Stricker's *Prooemium*,³⁹ used by Immermann, we find this same idea, and in MS B, this wording: "Ditz puoch ist von chvnich karl vnd von ruoland gemacht wie si div heidenschaft vber chomen."⁴⁰

It is significant that Immermann's first pretentious drama should have treated so conventional a theme as the "Rolandslied," and that his source should have been Der Stricker, to whom Gervinus⁴¹ denies all poetic ability. But little is known

³⁶ Cf. 10952–10957.

³⁷ Cf. XVI, 8.

³⁸ Cf. 10969–10973.

³⁹ Cf. Schilter's *Thesaurus*, p. 1.

⁴⁰ Cf. Bartsch edition, p. 323.

⁴¹ Cf. Gervinus: *Ges. d. deut. Dichtung*, Vol. 2, p. 71.

of Stricker's life. As for his genius, we are repeatedly informed that he doubted his own ability. His "Karl" is a rendering of Pfaffe Konrad's "Rolandslied" and a poem on Charlemagne's youth. Immermann was the first German writer to dramatize the theme. As to setting, characters, incidents, treatment and outcome it is romantic.⁴² After this he left medieval Germany and did not return to it dramatically until "Friedrich II."

There was, however, no flagging of interest in the romantic age, only a lull in completed productions that glorify the age. Immediately after the completion of "Die Verschollene" (early in 1821), Immermann began a careful study of the Hohenstaufens. He thought seriously of writing an entire cycle of dramas glorifying the period from 1138 to 1254. Barbarossa was to be the hero of two, Friedrich II was to constitute a trilogy and Conradin was to close the series.⁴³ Tieck had, four years earlier, cherished a like desire.⁴⁴ Immermann finished only "Friedrich II." Writing seventeen years later (1838), Immermann denies the Hohenstaufen epoch dramatic utility:⁴⁵ "They (the Hohenstaufens) all hover unfortunately about half way between legendary and historical characters and are suitable therefore neither for a mythical nor a purely historical treatment. In short, they do not have legitimate dramatic blood." But this was written at a time when Raupach's cycle of sixteen dramas from the same epoch had met with a hearty reception on the Berlin stage, and on others, which had rejected the dramatic efforts of Immermann. Jealousy may have given coloring to the criticism, especially in view of the attitude shown toward Raupach in "Münchhausen."⁴⁶ There is nevertheless a measure of truth in Immermann's criticism, and his own "Friedrich II" was not included in his "Schriften."⁴⁷

⁴² Cf. Deetjen: *Jugenddramen*, pp. 23-49, for references to modern writers.

⁴³ Cf. P. I, 72.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Briefe L. Tiecks an Friedrich von Raumer*: December 21, 1817—February 2, 1818.

⁴⁵ Cf. XIX, 19.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Münchhausen*, Book I, Chapter XIV.

⁴⁷ Karl Immermanns *Schriften*. Düsseldorf, 1835-1843. XIV Bände.

The personal experience feature is marked in this work; it is Immermann's tribute to Catholicism. He had, since 1819, been brought more or less into contact with Catholic conditions not always of a favorable nature. On coming to Düsseldorf (1827) he was introduced to the Catholic art circle of which Schadow was the leading spirit. It was the struggle between the Papal and Imperial party that attracted him to the Hohenstaufens.⁴⁸ His method of composition is well shown here. It was his custom to carry a plan for a long while in his mind, and then, after it had thoroughly matured, to commit the results of his meditation to paper with remarkable rapidity, something after the fashion of Grillparzer. After six years of reading and planning, he began the actual composition, in the final form, December 1, and finished it December 30, 1827. It was published in its present form in the autumn of 1828. The intervening months were spent in polishing the style under the guidance of Schadow and changing the content at the suggestion of Beer.

The book sources are many; he prepared himself more thoroughly for this work than for any other.⁴⁹ But all of these sources can be resolved into one: Raumer's *History of the Hohenstaufens*.⁵⁰ It remains, then, to tabulate the pivotal ideas of Immermann's drama and compare these with Raumer:

⁴⁸ Cf. P. I, 72: "Mightily did the abundance of power and error in this royal race move him. The great struggle between spiritual and worldly supremacy, the wealth of action, the bitter outcome—all this seemed to him to be in the history of the age like a monstrous tragedy itself needing but few additions from the poet to produce a powerful effect."

⁴⁹ Cf. P. I, 180.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, Heft XXI, Immermanns *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hohenstaufen-dramen* von Werner Deetjen, Berlin, 1901. Deetjen's lengthy (215 pages, including supplements) monograph lightens the labor but is not direct enough to excuse the necessity of this part of this study. Deetjen, as the title indicates, was interested in Hohenstaufen dramas in general, of which he has cited many, and Immermann's contribution to the already long list, in particular. He has a section entitled "The historical sources and what Immermann took from them" (pp. 20-33). To this section the present study is indebted, but from its method of presentation the present study must deviate. A large part of these pages is taken up with the discussion of dramas by unimportant and unknown authors, as well as things that do not concern this work. Deetjen mentions as book sources also: (1) *Chronicon Urspergense*, (2) *Historia Major* by the English Monk

Immermann at least alluded to all the important incidents in the reign of Friedrich II from the flight of Innocent IV, June 30, 1244, to Friedrich's death December 13, 1250. The following, however, are the basal facts on which the dramatic superstructure rests: (1) Friedrich's unlimited power (I, 1). (2) The flight of Innocent IV (I, 9). (3) The tragic conflict in Friedrich's family (I, 4). (4) The Roxelane affair (I, 1). (5) Treachery of Peter von Vinea (I, 2). (6) The ban on Friedrich (III, 4). (7) Battle of Fossalta (IV, 1-11). (8) The imprisonment of Enzius (IV, 8). (9) The treatment accorded Friedrich by the Archbishop of Palermo (V, 7). (10) Friedrich's death (V, 8). To this might be added Friedrich's religion (III, 7). Taking these up in turn, and comparatively, we see that Immermann's changes are confined mainly to the shifting of dates, the condensation of characters, the changing of scenes and a general presupposition of the reader's acquaintance with Friedrich's previous career.

At the opening of the drama, Friedrich possesses unlimited power and is filled with unbounded hostility to the Catholic party.⁵¹ He not only looks upon it as his enemy, he feels that his strength should endure no adversary. The entire Church is not only afraid to attack him, but fears, defensively, for its

Matthäus Paris (3) Sismondi's *Histoire des Républiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1809), (4) K. W. F. von Funck's *Geschichte Kaiser Friedrich II.*, a work that drew Novalis' attention to the *Ofterdingen* saga, (5) and Dr. Ernst Münch's *König Enzius* (Ludwigsburg, 1828), a work that Immermann owned. It is safe however to say that the main ideas of Immermann's drama were derived from *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit* von Friedrich von Raumer, in sechs Bänden. Leipzig, 1823-1825. Raumer began this work in 1803. It was finished, and published in 1825. The last two volumes do not concern this drama. As to the date 1803, Raumer wrote (December 31, 1817, to Frau von Bassewitz, cf. *Lebenserrinnerungen u. Briefwechsel*, von Fr. v. Raumer, Leipzig, 1861, p. 81, Vol. II) complaining that for fourteen years he had been working on his History of the Hohenstaufens with advice and help from no one but Tieck. The citations are from the second edition, Leipzig, 1841. Immermann owned Raumer's work (cf. Catalog, Nos. 862-67). Of the romanticists, who concerned themselves with Hohenstaufen projects, Deetjen lists the names of A. W. Schlegel (p. 4), Tieck (p. 4), Fouqué (p. 5), Uhland (p. 6), Platen (p. 6), Grabbe (p. 10), Novalis (p. 20). The most modern poet to plan a work from this period was C. F. Meyer, who thought of dealing with the defection of Peter de Vinea, alluding casually to the Bismarck affair (p. 23).

⁵¹ Cf. XVII, 166.

present safety. Immermann, as compared with Raumer, has magnified Friedrich's power and enmity.⁵² He was obliged to do this, for Friedrich is a passive hero.⁵³ He does nothing heroic during the drama. The flight of the Pope is true to history.⁵⁴ The family conflict between Enzius and Manfred is an invention of Immermann as here presented, though Friedrich's reign was filled with family feuds. There was a similar strife between Friedrich's sons, Heinrich and Conrad. The introduction of Roxelane as a means of defaming Friedrich's character is an invention, as to details, is not, however, without corroboration in history.⁵⁵ The treachery of Peter von Vinea is historical⁵⁶ and forms good dramatic material, yet Immermann passes it over slightly here, since he had used the same motive in "Ronceval."⁵⁷ The ban on Friedrich was pronounced early in 1245.⁵⁸ The battle of Fossalta Immermann copied closely.⁵⁹ This sort of engagements, on bridges and by brooks, was grateful material to him. The imprisonment of Enzius is a matter of history.⁶⁰ The last three scenes picture the conquered Emperor consoled by the Archbishop of Palermo.⁶¹ Immermann has here poetized Raumer, making a more beautiful than dramatic scene out of a plain record.

⁵² Cf. Raumer IV, 54. "From this it can be seen that the Emperor had not yet overcome all his foes in Italy, but he had at least the upperhand. His troubles in Germany were likewise being removed."

⁵³ Cf. Concerning the passivity of Friedrich, for which he had been criticised, Immermann refers to *Lear*, *Hamlet* and Calderon's *Standhafter Prinz* as illustrious examples of passive heroes (XVII, 159).

⁵⁴ Cf. Raumer IV, 78. "On the morning of June 30, 1244, there suddenly was spread the news that the Pope had fled. A thousand suppositions and theories at once arose in the minds of his friends and foes."

⁵⁵ Cf. Raumer, IV, 105: "Friedrich enfeoffed Mohammedan princes, gave voice to Mohammedan customs, and did not hesitate to associate with unbelieving harlots."

⁵⁶ Cf. Raumer, IV, 201-206.

⁵⁷ Cf. Deetjen: *Kaiser Friedrich*, p. 22.

⁵⁸ Cf. Raumer, IV, 82-83.

⁵⁹ Cf. Raumer, IV, 197-199.

⁶⁰ Cf. Raumer, IV, 199: "Enzius was the most excellent of the sons of the Emperor, bravest in war and most amiable in peace. He was unusually capable in business, and withal a poet and singer. His form was noble, his long blond hair fell in curls down over his shoulders. Lucia Viadogola, the fairest daughter of Bologna, was conquered by the conqueror. Yet at twenty-four this noble king was imprisoned for life."

⁶¹ Cf. Raumer, IV, 206. The simple statement runs: "Friedrich confessed his sins and was accepted into the Catholic Church after he had partaken of the communion."

It remains to point out the similarity between Friedrich's religious views, as given⁶² by Raumer and dramatized by Immermann. There is a similarity between the religion of the hero and the poet. Raumer sums up Friedrich's views by declaring that, while not a Christian such as the Pope would have had him be, he was nevertheless not to be looked upon as an unbeliever. He went through an exceedingly checkered career, but did not, because of the adversity he encountered, reject the forms of the mother Church. He was accused of superstition with some historical justification. He believed in a God and was religious. He believed in the Church as an institution to strengthen his realm. Immermann has Friedrich say to Enzius, III, 7:⁶³

Religion, wer hat sie nicht? Wer klagte
Sein Hirn des Blödsinns an, den Mangel zu bekennen?
Das Rosz, das froh der Sonn' entgegen wiehert,
Fühlt Gottes Atem. Und es fühlen ihn
Die Vöglein, wenn im thaudurchblitzten Wald
Sie durch die Bäume jubelnd tausend Perlen
Von ihren Zweigen schütteln. Aber, Enzius,
Der Glaube, dass der Höchste sein Geschenk,
Vier oder fünf verzogenen Kindern nur
Gegeben, sieh, der Glaub' ist nicht der meine.

The secondary characters are likewise taken from Raumer, as follows: Thaddäus von Suessa (R. IV, 101): "A man of penetrating reason, seductive eloquence, deep knowledge of the arts of war, just appreciation of the laws of peace, never failing presence of mind and firm will." Marinus von Ebulo (R. IV, 59). Bernardo Rossi (R. IV, 199). Boso von Doaro (R. IV, 199). Gherardo von Canale (R. IV, 172-173). Cardinal Octavian Ubaldini (R. IV, 171): "No one worthier of the Papal chair." Erzbischof von Palermo (R. IV, 62): "One of the most distinguished personalities in the realm, an arbiter between the Pope and the Kaiser." Ambrosius, the Chaplain, is mentioned in connection with the bridge over the Skultenna, though not as Immermann has referred to him. Of the three unimportant Papal leaders, there is no reference in

⁶² Cf. Raumer, III, 424.

⁶³ Cf. P. II, 268-270.

that part of Raumer's history that deals with the last six years of Friedrich's life (IV, 3-211) to Visconti von Mailand. Ugone von Bologna is mentioned as Filippo Ugone of Brescia, the temporal podesta of Bologna (R. IV, 197). There is (R. IV, 61) a reference to Azzo, a distinguished professor of law at Bologna, one of the teachers of Innocent IV at Bologna. It is he, in the drama, that beseeches Friedrich to restore to Modena its ancient privileges.

In conclusion:⁶⁴ Immermann has here dramatized the last six years of one of the most romantic characters Germany has produced in life or fiction. Friedrich II was the centre from which all brilliance radiated and in which all glory was focused. He was handsome and clever, skilled in physical feats and versed in mechanical arts. He was generous to a fault.⁶⁵ He was a broad scholar, judged from the standard of his time. He knew Latin, Greek, Italian, German, French and Arabic. He was a practical lawmaker and a fervent astrol-ogist. He wrote books on the "Care of Horses" and "Hunting with Birds." He was passionately fond of the chase and a great traveler. He is the father of art collecting. He was always interested in the Orient. He was one of the first natural scientists. He was a good sportsman and kindly disposed toward those of sporting instincts. It was one of his amusements—throwing a silver beaker into the sea from the light-house of Messina and having it retrieved by an expert diver—that furnished a parallel with Schiller's ballad of like content.⁶⁶ He encouraged all sorts of knightly practices at his court, Germans and Mohammedans mingling freely so "that the entire situation might take on a more romantic aspect."⁶⁷ He surrounded himself with poets, scholars, scien-

⁶⁴ Cf. Raumer, III, pp. 316-434. The section deals with Friedrich's personality and private life.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Walther von der Vogelweide*, Pfeiffer edition: "die nôt bedenket, milter künec, daz iuwer nôt zergê!" No. 149, p. 259. and "der edel künec, der milte künec hât mich berâten." No. 150, p. 260.

⁶⁶ Cf. Raumer, III, 428.

⁶⁷ Cf. Raumer, III, 430. It might be added as a reason for accepting Raumer as Immermann's ultimate source that Raumer based his history in part on the other sources referred to by Deetjen, especially the work of Matthäus Paris.

tists and artists. He himself invented some new forms of poetic composition, writing, like Petrarch, in Latin and Italian. His favorite themes were the praise of women and the beauties of nature. His attorney and counselor, Peter von Vinea, wrote the oldest law book of modern times, and composed one of the very first sonnets in the Italian language. He was a bold advocate of free love, the most active ruler of his time, a worshipper of art, a crowned poet and an inspired admirer of women. He was a romantic character, and it is hardly possible that his conflict with the Pope was his sole attraction for Immermann.

The next important, by all means Immermann's most pretentious poetization of medieval story is "Merlin. Eine Mythe." This profound dramatic poem embodies the poet's views on God, nature, the world, man and life. After a decade of meditation, it was written between March 4, 1831 and March 10, 1832.⁶⁸ It is the tragedy of two souls in one breast, dealing, as it does, with the problem of inevitable contradiction superinduced by irreconcilable, contrasting duality. It is one of Immermann's most subjective compositions and is unique from at least four viewpoints: number and variety of sources, depth, or rather obscurity of thought,⁶⁹ complete change of solution after the composition had been nearly completed⁷⁰ and the fact that he carried this one theme with him through his entire life.⁷¹ The personal experiences here recorded,⁷² the

⁶⁸ Cf. Kurt Jahn, *Immermann's Merlin*, pp. 55-57. *Palaestra* III. Berlin, 1899.

⁶⁹ Cf. Holtei II, 62. Immermann to Tieck: "An exegesis going into minute details would not strike my purpose." Yet the same, more or less, has been attempted by Kinkel, Schücking, Röpe, Jahn, Wegener, Molin and others. See bibliography. Throughout the poem the poet is more of a mystic prophet than a torch-bearing teacher.

⁷⁰ Cf. It had been Immermann's original plan to make a great deal more of the epilogue. The song of the shades of the Round Table was to echo from Hades and Merlin, as a spirit-voice, was to epilogize the entire action, announcing himself as a secular Saviour, declaring that since all joy and all grief had not been experienced by one individual, the curse was exhausted and every one could receive consolation in the grotto of the sufferer. He saw himself, however, obliged to make the conclusion simple, symbolic and popular. (Cf. *Letter to Tieck*, October 8, 1832. Holtei II, 64).

⁷¹ Cf. XI, 234-239, *Merlins Grab*. This poem was written in 1818. In

literary reminiscences here revealed and the book sources here drawn upon are many and romantic.

In a work as subjective, conventional, philosophic, artistic and literary as "Merlin," there are necessarily various stages of development, and the work itself can be analyzed from correspondingly various viewpoints. The following genetic epochs become obvious on a careful study of this work: There was first an embryonic idea.⁷³ This was followed by the main plot that centres around the hero.⁷⁴ Then comes the plot of the counteraction, or the action of those who help or hinder the hero in the accomplishment of his purpose.⁷⁵ Then comes general reading along the lines of the main plot and the counterplot from which material is drawn to embellish and poetize these two.⁷⁶ This gives us the completed, but unin-

1840, in *Düsseldorfer Anfänge*, he writes: "Merlin, which I learned to know as a boy through Fr. Schlegel's narrative (1804), and which I have since then *always* carried in my heart etc." He mentions the theme likewise in *Papierfenster* (IX, 130) and in *Ronceval* (XVI, 37).

⁷³ Cf. To sum up the personal experiences: Immermann possessed untiring industry, productive imagination and unquenchable thirst for literary fame in an age ill calculated to produce harmonious talent. His formative, educative period was seriously hampered by war and lack of leisure. His love affairs were unhappy and his acquaintance with Duchess Lützow unfortunate. He longed for idealism and beauty, but was surrounded by the crassest realism till 1827. For ten years he stood under the influence of Shakespeare, Goethe and Tieck, unable to reach up to them. Goethe had treated the same themes he had, only infinitely better. He had laid out macrocosmic schemes and had accomplished microcosmic results. *Merlin* is the poetization of the fact that we try the infinite and accomplish the finite after much blundering, summed up in Satan's words:

"Weil als du Gottes Orgel spielen wolltest,
Für Satan du die Bälgen tratst." (Koch, II. 2548-2549.)

Klingsor is Goethe. *Merlin* is Immermann's *Faust*, and portrays the tragedy of an Immermann attempting to be a Goethe.

⁷⁴ Cf. *De la Littérature du midi de l'Europe*, par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi. Vol. I, Chapter VII, pp. 253-296.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Geschichte des Zauberers Merlin, frei übersetzt aus dem Französischen von Robert de Boron*, von Dorothea Schlegel und Wilhelmina von Chezy. Fr. Schlegels *Sämmtliche Werke* (1804), Vol. VII.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie im Mittelalter* von D.: Karl Rosenkranz. Halle, 1830. Dritter Kreis: Das romantische Epos, pp. 209-361.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Altdeutsche Gedichte aus den Zeiten der Tafelrunde*: Felix Franz Hofstätter. Wien, 1811. *Lanzelet du Lac*; Ulrich von Zazichoven. Also: A whole cycle of medieval poems, which rounded out the circle of Merlin; Percival, Lohengrin and others (cf. Putlitz I, p. 296).

terpreted story. Then comes a series of philosophic readings from which views are drawn that harmonize with and give poetic form to the broad, general meaning that the author wishes the work to convey.⁷⁷ And when these are woven into the speeches of appropriate characters there results the developed idea. Also, conventional themes are few in number and much sought after. "Merlin" is Immermann's "Faust," and every poet has written one work that contains the gist of his philosophy of life. So, aside from all these readings, there is to be detected a group of literary leanings.⁷⁸

It is impossible to determine with incontestable certainty when and where Immermann first came upon the Merlin theme. The least impeachable argument favors 1819 and Sismondi. In the autumn of this year he came to Münster and began at once a course of serious reading and voluminous note taking. Among other things, he read Sismondi,⁷⁹ drawing upon it for the general outline of his Petrarch drama. Here likewise is mentioned Merlin, with special reference to his birth,⁸⁰ character as prophet, and part in the establishment of the Round Table.⁸¹

There is no doubt, however, that the main plot of "Merlin" was taken from Schlegel's romance.⁸² To summarize the chief indebtedness: The following characters are common to

⁷⁷ Cf. August Neander: *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche*. Hamburg, 1825-1831.

⁷⁸ Cf. Goethe's *Faust*, Novalis' works, Solger's *Erwin*, Calderon's *Wunderthätiger Magus* and *Standhafter Prinz*, Hamlet, *Romeo and Juliet*, Kleist's *Hermannsschlacht*, Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*, paintings of Raphael, Dürer and the Düsseldorf School. Excepting the first five, these references are taken from Jahn, pp. 84-92. Wieland (*Oberon*, Strophe 20), Goethe (Schiller's *Musenalmanach* for 1796), Uhland (*Merlin der Wilde*—1811) and Tieck (translated—1829—*The Birth of Merlin, or The Child hath found his Father*, written by William Shakespear and William Rowley, London, 1662 for the second volume of Shakespear's *Vorschule*), all aided in popularizing the *Merlin* theme. Neander and the literary leanings do not concern this study.

⁷⁹ Cf. P. I, 54.

⁸⁰ Cf. Sismondi, Vol. I, p. 278.

⁸¹ Cf. Sismondi, Vol. I, p. 270.

⁸² Cf. Fr. Schlegel's *sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. 7, pp. 7-140. The names are given first as they are found in the poem and then the romance of Schlegel.

poem and source: Satan-Devil, Luzifer-devil, Candida-Jungfrau, Placidus-Blasius, Merlin, Artus, Yguerne, Niniana-Nyniane, Ginevra, Gawein-Gavin-Gawin, Gareis-Gareheiz and Der Seneschall-Lreux. The poem has the following characters not found in the source: Kay, Klingsor, Minstrel, Ereke, Lancelot, Parzifal, Lohengrin, Titurell, die Götter, Hamadryaden and Antinous. The source has the following characters not found in the poem: King Constans, his sons Moines, Uter and Pendragon, Ulsius the Counselor of Uter, Anthon a famous knight, Vortigern, Ambrosius, Hangius, Herzog von Tintayol and various royal personages who participate in state occasions.

The following themes are common to poem and source and worked out with slight changes: the two scenes of the prelude correspond to, and cover, the first three chapters of Schlegel. The devils feel that Christ, born of woman and yet immune from their mephitic wiles, is impinging on their rights, redeeming men from Hell. They too will beget such a protector. Accordingly, Satan overcomes in her sleep a pious virgin of wealthy family, Candida, who has been obeying the teachings of a saintly hermit, Placidus, and when she awakens, she perceives that she has been mysteriously dishonored. In the second scene her dirge of woe is sung and her regret that she was ever born recorded. The main difference between poem and source is the fact that in the source the Devil brings Candida's brother, father, mother and two sisters to grief before he attains his end with her. The real action begins with "Der Gral." Merlin's birth, his prodigious qualities and the comment on them by Placidus, Merlin's compulsory separation from Placidus, his description of his own nature and the significance of the Grail follow the romance closely.⁸³ The poem expands rather than condenses the story of the Grail since this was always of burning interest to Immermann. Merlin's monologue⁸⁴ tells his purpose of rescuing the Grail from the narrow-minded Titurell and placing it in the custody of knights of world renown—just as Immermann believed in a

⁸³ Cf. Schlegel, Chapters IV-VI.

⁸⁴ Cf. Koch Edition, always cited by lines: ll. 304-327.

universal rather than ecclesiastical Christianity. Schlegel has Merlin sought out by astrologers to help Vortigern build the stronghold,⁸⁵ Immermann sends Kay after "the child without a father" for Arthur's sake.⁸⁶

The seven scenes that follow have, episodically, little connection with the romance. They belong to the actual incidents of the Grail and Round Table. There are a few traits of Merlin here recorded that go back to Schlegel, such, for instance, as the fact that Merlin is the son of Satan only from the standpoint of the flesh, his character being inherited from his saintly mother.⁸⁷ Then there is the account of Arthur's birth as son of Uterpendragon and Yguerne,⁸⁸ and the Easter Festival, of which the Minstrel sings, and which Merlin, in the romance, calls into being.⁸⁹ The Klingsor-Merlin scene brings out the fact there is a greater than Klingsor. This brings us to the first Niniana scene. Niniana is the Rautendelein of the poem. The hero has established his fame as seer and prophet, he has done the impossible without changing God's laws, he has established the Round Table and redeemed the Grail, securing appropriate members for the former and custodians of the latter, and, impervious to every external force, has concluded by declaring himself the third in the Trinity. Then comes this Johanna-Lionel scene. Immermann follows the romance in detail. Niniana's irresistible charms, her life in the wild-wood, the enchantment scene by the hawthorn hedge, Merlin's complete undoing—these Immermann found in his source. The characters found only in the poem show what motives the poem alone uses. In addition to these, Immermann brings Merlin and the Devil into contact, and consequent conflict, in four important scenes. The romance does not report the death of Merlin's mother; she is saved by the wisdom of her son. This leaves no parallel to the scene "Am Grabe der Mutter." The main themes in the source not found in the poem are the various feats of Merlin that establish his reputa-

⁸⁵ Cf. Schlegel, Chapter X, p. 39.

⁸⁶ Cf. ll. 338-673.

⁸⁷ Cf. ll. 716-733.

⁸⁸ Cf. Schlegel, Chapter XXIX, Immermann, ll. 968-970.

⁸⁹ Cf. Schlegel, Chapter XX, p. 77, Immermann, ll. 979-980.

tion as a wonderworking prodigy and the wars between Constans and his three sons and Vortigern, together with a number of references to the early legendary history of England. Finally, Immermann has the Round Table destroyed as a result of Merlin's inopportune love; the source pictures the Round Table as living on after the fall of Merlin, lamenting his waywardness and subsequent unhappiness.

As to the details of the secondary plot, the following pivotal themes are common alike to the poem and to Rosenkranz. The traditional story of the Grail as it centres around the names of Christ, Joseph of Arimathia and Titurell;⁹⁰ the legend of the Round Table as it concerns, in the poem, Artus, Kay, Klingsor, Gawein, Gareis, Lohengrin, Erech, the Seneschall and the Minstrel;⁹¹ Lancelot's love for Ginevra;⁹² their common realization of the fact that this love is sure to lead to grief and the picturing of their fate under the story of Tschionachtulander and Sigune;⁹³ and Montsalvatsch as it centres around Titurell the protector, Parzifal the king and Lohengrin the messenger.⁹⁴

The inclusive breadth of these themes and the fact that Hofstätter's two volumes contain, partly in verse and partly in prose, the "Lanzelet" of Zazichoven and the "Lanzelet," "Froner Gral" and "Theurer Mörlin" of Ulrich Füetere—all discussed in detail by Rosenkranz,—show that Immermann's poem is entirely thinkable without one or the other of these sources. In the case of Rosenkranz it is a question of fundamental details, while Hofstätter gives an occasional embellishment.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Cf. Rosenkranz, pp. 275-276; Immermann, ll. 219-327.

⁹¹ Cf. Rosenkranz, pp. 240-253; Immermann, ll. 918-1406.

⁹² Cf. Rosenkranz, pp. 258-261; Immermann, ll. 1407-1463.

⁹³ Cf. Rosenkranz, pp. 283-286; Immermann, ll. 1733-1753.

⁹⁴ Cf. Rosenkranz, pp. 286-305; Immermann, ll. 1877-1986.

⁹⁵ The inherent difficulty in locating a given reference in a poem like *Merlin* is owing to the fact that, though not a fragment, it is but the outline of a work of vast proportions, and contains, therefore, unelaborated, isolated themes that might have been suggested by a number of "sources." Merlin's dictation to Placidus, for example, (Koch, 227-233) might have been taken from Hofstätter or the *New Testament* (Matth. XXVI, 26-29). Rosenkranz and Hofstätter both treat the story of the *Grail* and the *Round Table* and the traditional heroes that accompany these palladia of Knight-

Immermann's last and, according to Paul Heyse,⁹⁶ greatest lyric creation is "Tristan und Isolde." The story of the genesis of the poem is extremely simple. For at least ten years the theme had interested him.⁹⁷ He was happily married to Marianne Niemeyer October 21, 1839.⁹⁸ The dedication eloquently portrays the subjective feature.⁹⁹ The main source is given with equal poetic clarity.¹⁰⁰ And the method of composition is so succinctly explained that there can be no doubt as to what sort of poem the author wished to write.¹⁰¹ The

hood. The one treatment is about as far removed from science as the other is from literature. There is this in favor of assigning much influence to Rosenkranz: he was a personal friend of Immermann and his work appeared (1830) just as Immermann began to gather his material in a systematic fashion.

However, the following themes seem to have been taken from Hofstätter: the minstrel's song (Koch, 1156-1193 and 1229-1236; Hofstätter, pp. 11-22 vol. II.); the Lancelot-Ginevra episode (Koch, 1293-1463, 1733-1753 and 1987-2198; Hofstätter, Vol. I, pp. 3-225). This story gave Immermann little material for the love affair of his poem, more for the description of Arthur's court. These names of persons and places are also from Hofstätter: Lalagandries (Immermann, 1313, Hofstätter, I, 29-30), Iwerett (Immermann, 1313, Hofstätter, 98ff), Lymer (Immermann, 1313, Hofstätter, Vol. I, 41ff), Mabuz (Immermann, 1348, Hofstätter, Vol. I, 97), Dioflee (Immermann, 1264, Hofstätter, Vol. I, 84) and Schadlimort (Immermann, 143, Hofstätter, Vol. I, 97). The genealogical tree (cf. X, p. 78) is also from Hofstätter. As to Titurell and Lohengrin, Immermann read the poems of like names. It is impossible to say, however, what he took from them. His Lohengrin is a purely conventional knight, while Titurell appears but once in a minor role (Koch, 1928-1947).

⁹⁶ Cf. Koch Edition, D. N. L., Vol. 159, p. 178.

⁹⁷ Cf. XIII, 8.

⁹⁸ Cf. P. II, 302. Bartels, *Handb. n. Ges. d. deut. Lit.*, p. 511, gives Oct. 2.

⁹⁹ Cf. XIII, 21; *Zueignung an seine Braut*, Marianne Niemeyer:

"Gestorben war das Herz und lag im Grabe;—
Dein Zauber weckt es wieder auf, der holde.
Es klopft und fühlt des neuen Lebens Gabe;
Sein erster laut ist: Tristan und Isolde!"

¹⁰⁰ Cf. XIII, 25, ll. 121-124.

"Horch auf! Hör zu! Ein neues Lied!
Von alter Lust ein heisses Lied!
Gottfried von Strassburg hat's gesungen;
Ich sing' es nach in meiner Zungen."

¹⁰¹ Cf. Beer's *Briefwechsel*, p. 258. "It is a genuine pity that such a poem as Gottfried's *Tristan* should remain the exclusive property of book-worms and longhaired Germans of the old School. We should try to reproduce such a work just as Gottfried would write it were he living to-day. To

general method of treating the theme has already been indicated.¹⁰² Of all Immermann's Middle High German sources,¹⁰³ this is the one the purport of which he thoroughly understood, the content of which he approached out of a pure love of the subject, and the result of which would doubtless have given him unalloyed satisfaction had he lived to complete his plan.¹⁰⁴

In Gottfried's "Tristan" there are the following main motives: (1) Tristan's birth and the death of his parents Riwalin and Blanscheflur, (2) his rearing by Rual and Floraete, (3) his abduction by the Norwegian merchants, (4) his appointment as master of hounds at the court of Marke of Kurnewal, (5) his extreme popularity at Marke's court, (6) his being made a knight, (7) his taking vengeance on Morgan for the death of his father, (8) his slaying Morold and the wound he received, (9) his journey to Ireland to be healed by Isolde the Old, wife of Gurmun, and acquaintance with Isolde the Young, the Blond, (10) and his wooing Isolde the Blond for his uncle Marke. (11) Then, Isolde's admiration for Tristan since he killed the dragon, (12) her discovery, through the sliver and the notch, that Tristan slew Morold and her subsequent hatred, (13) her drinking with Tristan on the homeward voyage the fatal love-potion, (14) her fear of disgrace on arrival in Kurnewal because of her having yielded to Tristan, (15) her plans to secure herself against Brangäne's possible betrayal after her marriage to Marke, (16) her rescue from the Irish harper Gandin and restoration to Marke, (17) her secret

this end I am making copious notes of the motives that appeal to me as being poetic. When I actually begin to write, I shall refer only to my notes, and not to Gottfried, so that my finished poem may neither seem affected nor sound like a translation."

¹⁰² Cf. Supra, pp. 54-55.

¹⁰³ Cf. Koch says it is very likely that Immermann used the edition of *Tristan* prepared by von der Hagen (cf. Koch, p. 176). Immermann owned this work, so doubt as to whether he used this edition can be removed. Cf. *Bibliothek*, Nos. 84-85.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. For other romanticists who concerned themselves with *Tristan*, see the scholarly work of Wolfgang Golther: *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit*, Leipzig, 1907. One finds here a thorough presentation,—the title is not misleading,—of the wanderings of the saga. The names of Brentano, Jacob Grimm, Novalis, Platen, Rückert, A. W. Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck are found as having approached the material in some way.

practices with Tristan as discovered by Marjodo, (18) her being seriously suspected by Marke, (19) her persecution by Melot, (20) her trial by fire and acquittal by means of cunning, (21) her possession of Peticro, (21) her banishment by Marke, (22) her life with Tristan in the love-grotto, (23) her actual detection by Marke, (24) her ultimate separation from Tristan. (25) Then, Tristan's unhappy love for the sister of Kaedin, Isolde the Whitehand.¹⁰⁶

In Immermann's epic, only the first fifteen motives are covered. Of these, all are represented except the seventh, the vengeance motive, and the eleventh, the dragon-killing motive. In general, the difference between poem and source lies in Immermann's condensation, introduction of humorous elements, realistic descriptions and personal confessions and appeals to the reader on the ground of plausibility. No theme is motivated precisely alike in poem and source. The introduction is similar in both, in a few instances parallel. Immermann sings as did Gottfried, Gottfried sings as did Thomas von Bretonje.¹⁰⁶ Both will sing of love and sorrow.¹⁰⁷ of

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Here Gottfried's *Tristan* ends. Golther reconstructs a complete *Ur-Tristan* (cf. Golther, pp. 40-58), to judge from which Gottfried treated about seven-ninth of the entire legend. Immermann had planned twenty cantos, he finished but twelve; the eleven of part one, and one of part two. He poetized the saga up to the marriage of Marke and Isolde, or, approximately, one-third of the entire story. Notes as to how the remaining cantos were to be completed are published (cf. XIII, 277-287). These are too vague to necessitate consideration. Immermann followed the continuators of Gottfried, Ulrich von Türheim and Heinrich von Freiberg. There are 19552 verses in Gottfried's fragment. Counting relatively, there would have been about 25,000 verses in all. Immermann devotes 7,594 verses to 12 of 20 cantos; he had doubtless intended about 13,000 verses in all. For a discussion of Immermann's unfinished cantos, and their relation to the continuators of Gottfried as determined by Immermann's prose notes, cf. Klövekorn: *Immermann's Verhältnis zum deutschen Altertum mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Romanszyklus. Tristan und Isolde*, pp. 35-40. It is also here pointed out that Immermann's epic was influenced by *Sagen, Mythologie und Rechtsaltertümer* of the Grimms, as well as the *Volksbuch* in von der Hagen's edition.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Bechstein, II. 149-154.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Bechstein, II. 204-205:

"swen nie von liebe leit geschach,
dem geschach ouch liep von liebe nie."

Immermann, XIII:

"Wen nie von Liebe Leid geschehen,
Geschah von Lieb' auch Liebes nicht."

Tristan and Isolde.¹⁰⁸ Immermann omits the long introductory history leading up to the love episode between Riwalin and Blanscheflur,¹⁰⁹ begins at once with the tournament at Tintayol and places the lovers directly in the foreground. Tristan's rearing and abduction are omitted until the story is told in "Die Jagd," very briefly.¹¹⁰ Immermann naturally describes a modern chase as over against the conventionally romantic one of Gottfried.¹¹¹ Tristan's popularity at Marke's court and his attending rapid promotion are graphically portrayed by Immermann's favorite method of contrast between the youthful, high-spirited Tristan and the old and jealous members of the court. A similar scene is in "Petrarka," where the old generation can not understand why the youthful Petrarch is preferred to them at the court of Hugo von Sade.¹¹² Immermann has Tristan dubbed a knight by Morold in modern, realistic fashion as compared with the formal *Schwertleite* ceremony in Gottfried, the grandeur of which occasion the medieval poet will not even attempt to describe!¹¹³ The duel between Morolt and Tristan is modeled on Gottfried with elimination of the gruesome elements.¹¹⁴ The journey to Ireland and Tristan's treatment by Isolde is abridged in the poem by the omission of all preliminary incidents. The patient is placed at

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Bechstein, ll. 129-130:

"ein man, ein wip; ein wip, ein man,
Tristan, Isot; Isot, Tristan."

Immermann, XIII:

"Tristan, Isold'—Isold', Tristan,
Beglückt-Unsel' ge, Weib und Mann."

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Bechstein, ll. 243-1788.

¹¹⁰ Cf. XIII, pp. 72-73.

¹¹¹ Cf. Gottfried devotes 1618 verses to his chase romance, Immermann, 724. One feature of Gottfried's poem is the great number of Technical terms such as: ze bile, gevelle, bast panze, massenie, curie, za za za l, marschant, allez avant l, gerotiert, mehnle, condewieren and many others, a few of which Immermann took over.

¹¹² Cf. XVI, 257.

¹¹³ Cf. Bechstein, ll. 4614-4618: Gottfried says that to attempt to portray this courtly scene would be poor taste on his part, since so many have already done this, and better than he can. It has been accomplished by Hartmann der Ouwaere, Steihnahe Blikër, der von Hagenouwe and der Vogelweide.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Bechstein, ll. 5871-7234; Immermann, XIII, pp. 134-144.

once in the hands of his healer.¹¹⁵ The sliver scene is skillfully introduced: Donegal, a drunken Irishman, reels into the room, declaring to Isolde that Tristan is the slayer of Morold. She gives him permission to behead Tristan, but he must first sharpen the sword. Isolde brushes off the dust from the fatal blade, in so doing notices the nick and grasps the situation at once. She raises the sword, is ready to strike, her hair becomes loosened, and Tristan, seeing that this is the woman fated for Marke according to the swallow legend, begins, with great presence of mind the wooing. The love potion in Immermann is prepared with extended formality, elves and fairies helping to brew the wonder-working drink, so that it seems much more reasonable, that it should deprive the user of all self-control, than the simply concocted drink used by Gottfried. On the journey to Cornwall, the poem has the passengers go to the island of the nuns. The lovers are left alone. In Gottfried the drinking scene occurs during the casual absence of Brangäne from her charge. And finally, the situation at Cornwall on the return of the lovers: Immermann has Brangäne voluntarily offer herself as a victim of the situation in place of Isolde. The poem breaks off with the wedding.

Aside from these four major poems there are about the same number of minor ones that can be definitely traced to romantic sources. The first of these is "Schmied Weland."¹¹⁶ It treats the conventional theme of the knight who brings his horse to Weland to be shod. Weland tells the knight to place the coin on the block and then turn away. He does so, and when he resumes his previous position, the horse, to the great astonishment of the knight, is shod and the journey can be continued. Immermann followed the saga as he found it in Grimm with no change of motivation whatsoever.¹¹⁷ Then

¹¹⁵ Cf. XIII, 145-158.

¹¹⁶ Cf. XI, 162-175; pagination for all four ballads, inclusive.

¹¹⁷ Cf. *Die deutsche Heldensage* von Wilhelm Grimm; p. 323. The scene is here laid at White Horse Hill, near Ashdown. The invisible smith is called Wayland-Smith, possibly because at this point, in 863, a valiant Norman leader, Weland, lost his life, and there has since been a confusion, or blending, of truth and poetry.

As to *Dietlieb*,—the original power of Biterolf, the primitive bestiality of Dietlieb, his later bravery, his avenging spirit—these themes Immermann

there are three retributive ballads: "Dietlieb,"¹¹⁶ "Der Bettler"¹¹⁶ and "Der Zauberer Virgilius."¹¹⁶ The Nemesis theme is so rigidly followed that the poems seem almost like different versions of the same motive. "Dietlieb"¹¹⁷ tells the story of Biterolf, once a powerful duke, now an old outcast living in a loam hut with his imbecile, giant son Dietlieb, who is more beast than man. Reginald, who has overcome Biterolf, and all his other foes, wants the old man to attend his wedding feast so as to add glory to the occasion by contrast. When Dietlieb, who lies in the corner of the room grunting like a swine, sees the approaching disgrace of his father, he is suddenly metamorphosed into a strong, proud hero. He kills Reginald, marries the abducted bride intended for Reginald and restores his father to his former power. This is a widespread and complicated saga with many contradictory motives, from which Immermann has pieced together this connected story. In "Der Bettler," the rich merchant, Wolfram¹¹⁷—the name is not significant—loses, one by one, his four children, who have been enticed to the forest by the song of the beggar. In search of them, Wolfram loses his own life. In both ballads, then, the original hero loses his life, when at the acme of usurped power, at the hands of his then weakest foe. In "Virgilius" the theme is much more naïve. Virgilius¹¹⁸ steals the fire from his maid's hearth; the neighbors will not lend her any; then he steals it from their hearths and they are obliged to borrow from Virgilius' maid, this giving him a good opportunity to rebuke them for their littleness.

found in Grimm (cf. p. 340) under the rubric *Uebersicht der Dietliebssage*. There are various casual references in Grimm to both father and son. Reginald appears as Reginbald. Wolfram (cf. 330) is given in Lambrechts *Alexander*; Grimm maintains it is a false reading for *Ortwæn*, which would rhyme with *gelich sin*.

¹¹⁸ There is no significance in Immermann's use of Virgilius in this connection. The magician is not referred to in Grimm's *Heldensage*, but when Immermann ascribed this power to Virgilius and poetized the same, he was simply following in the foot-steps of Dante, Hans Sachs, Wolfram von Eschenbach, the author of *Lohengrin* and *Titurell* and others. For a complete review of Virgilius literature, cf. *Gesammtabenteuer* herausgegeben von F. H. von der Hagen, Stuttgart, 1850, pp. cxxix-cxlvii, Vol. III.

As to the Romance peoples and their literatures,¹¹⁰ Immermann's interest was unfailing, though the tangible results do not bulk large. Aside from various criticisms of Romance works—to be treated under content—there are but two productions that concern this section: "Petrarca" and "Ghismonda," the former his third important drama (1821), the latter his last drama (1837). To be sure, "Die Prinzen von Syrakus" (1821), which Immermann attributively called a "romantic comedy," plays in Salerno, centering around the destruction of Milan by Frederick I (1162), and the battle of Tiberias (1187), yet its source is not Romance, but personal. Likewise with "Cardenio und Celinde," which plays in Bologna, centering around the Turkish attack on Malta (1565) and the battle of Lepanto (1571), yet its source is not Romance

¹¹⁰ Through the criticisms of A. W. Schlegel and the literature of Arnim, Brentano, Eichendorff, Grillparzer, Müllner, Tieck, Uhland and others, German romanticism has become inseparably connected with the names and norms of Lope, Calderon and Cervantes, of Camoens, of Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Petrarch and Boccaccio. A similar series of poets from France is not to be found. Pascal, Boileau, Molière, Racine, Corneille and others did not write material that could later become the source of romantic works. With the Spanish, Italian and Portuguese groups, Immermann was familiar. The catalogue of his library shows that he owned the traditionally well known works of these authors, and his biographer tells us that he read them. Of the Spaniards, it was Calderon whom he knew best, and who, possibly, had the most significant influence on his own productions, with special reference to *Der wunderthätige Magus* and *Merlin*. A subject, however, which, to exhaust, would require a very extensive study, is the influence of *Don Quixote* on Immermann's works. He owned Tieck's translation (1799) of *Don Quixote* (cf. Catalogue, Nrs. 377-380). Here he may have gotten the contrast scheme, which he followed with unswerving fidelity. Also, the Roland theme (II, p. 19, and elsewhere), the hatred of knighthood and books of chivalry (Chap. 6, II), Merlin (II, Chap. 35 and elsewhere), the Emerentia of *Münchhausen* (II, p. 397 and elsewhere) as well as the entire *Münchhausen-Buttervogel* theme, the Cardenio of *Car. u. Cel.* (I, p. 287 and elsewhere), the Lancelot of *Merlin* (II, p. 216 and elsewhere), his description of caves (II, Chaps. 23-24), the cutting out of the heart of the friend of Montesino and delivering it to Lady Belerma (II, p. 207-208), an exact parallel to the Tyche-Celinde-Marcellus theme in *C. u. C.* (II, 4), his fondness for the theater, a theme and trait of Immermann as described by Cervantes (II, p. 101), and his fondness for the chase, a trait and a theme in Immermann (II, p. 319). The references are to the Reclam translation by Soltau. That Immermann was influenced by *Don Quixote*, is further shown by the indisputable similarities in style—to be referred to in the chapter on structure.

but subjectivistic. Immermann's "*Petrarca*"¹²⁰ has the following pivotal themes:

(1) Petrarch's influence, literary and political, in Italy. (2) The corruption of the court at Avignon. (3) Petrarch's visit to Hugo von Sade, a Provençal nobleman. (4) Petrarch's criminal relation to Jeanneton, the daughter of the inn-keeper at Avignon. (5) Petrarch's meeting Laura in the cathedral, April 6, 1327. (6) His unbounded love for her. (7) His attempt to compromise her. (8) His banishment from Avignon and scornful rejection by Laura.

It will be seen at once that the drama rests on the familiar story of the father of the sonnet and the mystic Laura. The theme is the very simplest: Hugo von Sade invites his old college friend to spend a few days at his country place. The friend comes, acts indiscreetly toward the wife of his host and is consequently banished. A comparison with "*Winter's Tale*" will at once reveal the poverty of action and invention. The characters, beyond the rank of servant, are historical; likewise the main incidents. The meeting in the cathedral Immermann followed slavishly as he found it in Fernow.¹²¹ It remains then simply to point out here the justification, in the drama, for Petrarch's attempt to compromise Laura in view of the fact that the sources tell how a simple smile from her was rewarded with a glowing sonnet, that they were never alone, that a hand-kiss from Laura would have been rewarded with a thousand fiery verses, that Petrarch was true to her until her death, and then true to her memory, and that Laura was immaculately pure, icily cold and classically cruel.¹²² But Petrarch's character was different; also his temperament.

Petrarch calls himself the murderer of Jeanneton,¹²³ and justly

¹²⁰ That Immermann derived any material help from Sismondi is to be seriously doubted. He owned Fernow's life of Petrarch and followed it closely. The first volume of Sismondi, Chap. X, pp. 395-425, discusses Petrarch's love for Laura, her death, April 6, 1348, the corruption of Avignon, the crowning of Petrarch, April 8, 1341, his friendship with Colas de Rienzo and an appreciation of his sonnets. But Fernow gives, also, this material in much more tangible form.

¹²¹ Cf. Fernow, p. 213-226.

¹²² Cf. Sismondi, Vol. I, 406ff. And Fernow, p. 41ff.

¹²³ Cf. XVI, p. 297.

so. This side of his life finds abundant corroboration in Fernow, who portrays Petrarch as of only too weak character, as the father of an illegitimate daughter, whom he loved, and of an illegitimate son whom he treated with almost inhuman cruelty.¹²⁴ Then as to Laura: in the drama, Petrarch tells the long story to Laura, revealing his great love for her. For just a moment, she yields. Then, believing that even this is a sin, she hastens away.¹²⁵ Her sin consisted in taking Petrarch's hand. A word for word parallel is found in Fernow.¹²⁶ And finally, Immermann had a vague suggestion for Petrarch's attempt to enter the bed-chamber of Laura on the night after the fête. That is to say, Fernow tells how Petrarch thought of such an undertaking, but from a wholly different viewpoint.¹²⁷ Throughout the sources, Petrarch's love for Laura is platonic and celestial.¹²⁸ Immermann has made it simply sensual. And in this change lies the important deviation from the sources.

Sixteen years later, Immermann again drew on Italian ma-

¹²⁴ Cf. Fernow, p. 191ff.

¹²⁵ Cf. XVI, p. 275; for the complete story, cf. Act III.

¹²⁶ Cf. Fernow, p: "Nur einmal ist von einem Geheimniss unter den beiden Liebenden die Rede, dem er eine ganz besondere Wichtigkeit beilegt; aber auch das Stärkste, was man darunter muthmassen kann, läuft auf nichts weiter hinaus, als dass Laura seine Hand berührt, oder ihm die ihrige gereicht hatte."

¹²⁷ Cf. Fernow, p. 52: "Aus demselben Leime geformt, wie die andern Menschen, empfand Petrarca die Liebe ohne Zweifel auf gleiche Weise; und wie keusch auch seine Muse war, so wirft sie doch an zwei oder drei Stellen diesen Zwang ab. In einer solchen Stelle wünscht er eine Nacht mit Laura zuzubringen, ohne andere Zeugen als die Sterne, und dass dieser Nacht kein Morgenroth folge."

¹²⁸ Cf. Fernow, p. 99. Commenting on this sort of celestial love, Fernow says it filled Petrarch's poetry with references to "Engel, Sterne, strahlende Augen, brennende Herzen, Sonnen, Flammen, Licht, u. s. w." Immermann has Petrarch explain to Luigi how Laura appeared to him in the Cathedral, and in the explanation almost every single one of these figures is found (XVI, 245-249). Peter Borghesi comments on this heaping up of sentimentalities as one of the cardinal weaknesses of Petrarch's sonnets. (P. B., *Pet. and his Influence on English Lit.*, pp. 125-126.) That Immermann used Fernow slavishly shows itself in the similarity of trifles, e. g., Immermann and F. both tell how Petrarch's father forbade his reading Cicero (XVI, 237 and F. p. 205). The character Miraval Immermann doubtless took from Sismondi, who speaks of Arnaud de Marveil, the troubadour immortalized by Dante and Petrarch.

terial for a drama, this time from Boccaccio. The drama is "Ghismonda," or, as it was first called, "Die Opfer des Schweigens." There are the following pivotal themes: (1) Tancred, Prince of Salerno, engages, against her will, Ghismonda, his daughter, to Manfred, a distant, ducal relative. (2) Manfred learns, to his complete undoing, that Ghismonda loves Guiscardo, son of Dagobert, an attendant at her father's court. (3) Ghismonda has Guiscardo swear that he will, under no circumstances, divulge the love confessions and requitals; his shibboleth is silence. (5) Tancred discovers the secret love of his daughter and Guiscardo, and stabs the latter because he is silent when questioned as to his relation to Ghismonda. (6) Ghismonda takes poison at the bier of Guiscardo, and Tancred, obeying her dying request, buries them in a common grave.

A glance at the Boccaccio story as Immermann found it in Witte's translation¹²⁹ shows that he followed his source closely, so far as the general idea of sacrificial love is concerned, that he changed the details frequently and arbitrarily. Boccaccio makes Ghismonda a young widow, pining to be remarried. Immermann had no room for this. The source has Guiscardo come to Ghismonda through a subterranean cave. This would, of course, be impossible dramatically, as also the detection scene. In Boccaccio, Tancred conceals himself in the bed-chamber of Ghismonda, and discovers the two enjoying secret love. Immermann has this brought about at a garden fête,

¹²⁹ Cf. XVII, 284-285. The entire story, as translated by Karl Witte (1830) is here given. The same story, used by Bürger for his ballad, *Lenardo und Blandine* is given in Simrock's *Volksbücher*, Band 6. Immermann's library has two *Decameron* references: *Decamerone*—1053, and *Boccaccio's Decameron-Witte*—332-334.

As to further source, the fact that Immermann refers in the drama to Guarini's *Il Pastor fido* (300) and Calderon's *Der wunderthätige Magus* (301) and to *Tristan und Isolde* (333) necessitates no further investigation. Immermann always does this sort of thing!

As to a dramatization of this story it is interesting to see that Clarence Sherwood (*Neu-Englische Bearbeitungen der Erzählung Boccaccios von Ghismonda und Guiscardo*, Berlin, 1892) has a section entitled *Gh. u. Gu. in Germany*, p. 6-7. He mentions the names of Hans Sachs and Pürger, as well as those of Niclas von Wyle (1510), Hans Pöhl (1887) and Albrecht von Eyb. He preserves, however, a Guiscardo sort of silence as to Immermann's drama, mentioning it not even indirectly.

where there are living pictures, of which Immermann was always too fond. They play quite a rôle in his works. The motive of "silence" is original with Immermann. When Tancred, in the source, discovers the guilt of Guiscardo, he has his heart cut out and sent to his daughter on a golden plate. Immermann could not judiciously use this—he had already employed a similar scene in "Cardenio und Celinde." The death and burial are similar in poem and source.

From the Italian, Immermann poetized, then, the mystic love of the father of the sonnet, a romantic form *par excellence*, and the best known short story of Italy's greatest short story writer.

Folksongs, those songs of the people, by the people and for the people, played a leading rôle in German romanticism. Herder first popularized the term "Volkslieder." Tieck resuscitated them, A. W. Schlegel explained their literary significance, Arnim and Brentano collected them, Weber, Lortzing, Schubert and Schumann set them to music, Heine and Wilhelm Müller imitated them, Chamisso, Eichendorff, Rückert, Schenkendorf and Uhland wrote new ones, all the romanticists concerned themselves, to a greater or less degree, with these cryptic symbols of subjective emotion, these songs that constitute not so much an exact expression of life as a poetic transcription of life. Immermann, too, read them, owned the traditional collections, quoted them occasionally, and based four dramas upon them. Of these, the first is "Edwin." There are the following pivotal themes: (1) the abduction and mysterious disappearance of Edwin, son of Aella, King of Deira, while under the guardianship of Adalfried, now king of Northumberland and Deira. (2) The attempt on the part of rebellious Deirans, headed by Redwald, to overthrow Adalfried. (3) Redwald's selfish motives checked by the announcement that Edwin still lives. (4) Edwin's marriage to Ethelburga, daughter of the woodsman, Offa, who reared him. (5) Edwin's imprisonment for trespassing against the game laws of Adalfried, the existence of which he was ignorant. (6) His liberation because of re-

semblance to Aella. (7) His elevation to the throne by the people. (8) Redwald's unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Edwin. (9) The abduction of Osfried, Edwin's son, by Adalfried's party and the refusal to manumit the heir so long as the father lays claim to Deira. (10) Edwin, deaf to all appeals of his wife for the safety of their son, proceeds to get back Deira, as result of which Adalfried, Oswy his son, and Osfried lose their lives, and Ethelburga deserts Edwin, leaving Edwin king, but utterly alone.

The romantic source¹³⁰ contains the following themes: (1) the romantic life of the three poachers in the wild wood, near Carlisle. (2) William's secret visit to his family at night and consequent capture. (3) The rescuing of his family and his own escape, with the help of his friends, Adam and Clym. (4) Their appeal to the king, at London, for mercy. (5) Their complete acquittal and subsequent reward by the king as a result of William's master shot—he shoots an apple from the head of his son, at six score paces! A comparative reading of poem and source shows that Edwin's life as poacher in the forest, his persecution, his capture, his escape, his subsequent elevation to the throne are taken directly from the ballad.

Concerning the Tell motive: Immermann could not apply this directly as he found it in the ballad. But there are Tell suggestions: his family life, his appellation "frecher Schütze," his care for his people when oppressed, and his rescue. The entire drama, be it said in this connection, is the best example of Immermann as a supercilious romanticist. The work is dedicated to Goethe by Immermann, then unknown. There is a prologue¹³¹ modelled after Chaucer, Petrarch, Dante, Vergil and Goethe! The drama discusses the weightiest affairs of kings and chancellors. To the task and its accomplishment, the poet was not equal. And it best shows his dramatic remi-

¹³⁰ The romantic source, aside from Immermann's studies in church history and the chaotic state of the seventh century Anglo-saxon Heptarchy, which have nothing to do with this study, is the Old-English Ballad: *Adam Bel, Clym of the Clough, and Wyllyam of Cloudsle*. Putlitz (I, 66) pointed out that Immermann used a ballad, but it was the good service of Deetjen *Immermann's Jugenddramen*, p. 57) to locate this ballad (*Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry*, by Joseph Ritson, 2d ed., London, 1833).

¹³¹ Cf. Deetjen, pp. 51-55.

niscences. The entire work is a mosaic of "Henry IV,"¹²² "Cymbeline,"¹²³ "Hamlet,"¹²⁴ "Phädra"¹²⁵ "Nathan der Weise"¹²⁶ and Goethe and Schiller, with special reference to "Götz von Berlichingen" and "Wilhelm Tell." The reader sometimes pauses to ask the question: Is this Götz, Tell, or Edwin speaking?¹²⁷

Aside from the ballad source, Immermann quotes the folk-songs "Maria, wo bist Du zur Stube gewesen" (XVI, 166), "Es wirbt ein schöner Knabe" (XVI, 145) and a Bänkelsänger sings "Blau, blau, blau ist der Himmel."

Closely following "Edwin" is the one act dramatic sketch "Die Verschollene," Immermann's first contribution to mysticism, and the first demonstration of the fact that a theme which moves in two entirely different and sharply contrasted spheres was of enduring interest to him. He incorporated the first version (1821) in the novelette "Die Papierfenster," and then gave an independent version in 1834. By way of introduction to both compositions¹²⁸ he comments on the attraction offered by the opportunity to amalgamate the mystic world of Theresia and the material world of Therese. He tells how the ballad, "Die Eile der Zeit in Gott,"¹²⁹ appealed to him as being worthy of more pretentious treatment, and hence his dramatic efforts.¹⁴⁰

The contents of the ballad, in brief, are as follows: the pious Theresia, daughter of the Commandant of Grosswardein, in order to escape being married to a wealthy nobleman,¹⁴¹

¹²² The usurpation, rebellion and overthrow themes, Redwald being the opposite of Fiesco or Rienzi.

¹²³ The banishment-abduction themes and the Rosalinda-Imogen mask.

¹²⁴ The question as to whether life is worth the worry.

¹²⁵ The absence of Theseus and the consequent changes in rulers.

¹²⁶ The sparing Edwin-Tempelherr because of his resemblance to Aella-Assad.

¹²⁷ The kindhearted, brave, domestic yet nationally liberal character of Götz, Tell and Edwin and their brave yet anxious wives.

¹²⁸ Cf. IX, 126 for first version, and XVII, 375 for the second version.

¹²⁹ *Des Knabenwunderhorn*—Reclam—pp. 46-49.

¹⁴⁰ For a discussion of the first version, cf. Deetjen, pp. 71-79.

¹⁴¹ The same theme—refusal to marry and live an active life—so different from the theme of *Ghismonda*, was used by Immermann in a number of poems: *Sancta Cäcilia* (XI, 144), *Der Pilger* (XI, 145), *Der Klausner* (XI, 240). The repeating, consciously or unconsciously, of a given theme is an Immermann trait.

goes into the garden and appeals to Jesus for help. Jesus spirits her away to His Father's garden as His bride. He shows her the beauties of the garden, and then takes her home. She thinks she has been gone one day, learns, however, that she has been absent one hundred and twenty years. When she hears where she has been, she dies. Immermann took over the ballad literally, quoting six of the thirty stanzas directly, and giving the rest of the story in Theresia's account of her absence. In order to have a dramatic conflict, Immermann established a feud between the family Finkenstein, to which Theresia belonged, and Scharfenstein, to which her lover belonged. The marriage, then, four generations later, of Therese Finkenstein and Adalbert Scharfenstein is made possible only by the sudden return of the long lost Theresia.

And finally, there is another drama, "Andreas Hofer," likewise in two versions,¹⁴² that owes its most remote origin, or rather suggestion, to folksongs.

Immermann tells¹⁴³ how, in his thirteenth year, "the tragic story of Andreas Hofer resounded, like a distant, dying song in the plains of Germany." In 1826,¹⁴⁴ he heard, in Magdeburg, the Rainer brothers singing those simple lays that glorify Hofer's heroism, and he decided to dramatize the theme. In the first version,¹⁴⁵ Hofer asks the Rainers to sing the song of the chamois, which, rather than be caught by the Frenchman, threw itself into the abyss. The appropriateness is clear, and the composition is more than likely original with Immermann. In the version of 1833, Hofer asks¹⁴⁶ the singers to sing "ein paar Schnaderhüpfln, grün und lustig." And they sing a Tyrolese song, rich in local color, beginning:

A frisha Bua bin i,
Hab drei Federln am Hut.

It has been impossible to locate the song. The genuine ring of the dialect militates against the claim of originality for Im-

¹⁴² First version (1826), second (1833), are both based on well known historical facts. It was the folksongs that immortalize the hero, Hofer, that called Immermann's attention to the theme and its value.

¹⁴³ Cf. XVI, 469.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. P. I, 148.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. XVII, 64-66.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. XVI, 512-513.

mermann. It might have been modeled on the one in "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"¹⁴⁷ beginning:

Es trägt ein Jäger ein grünen Hut.

This, then, is Immermann's indebtedness to those songs, a collection of which constitute "ein allgemeines Denkmal der Deutschen, das Grabmal der Vorzeit, das frohe Mal der Gegenwart und der Zukunft ein Merkmal in der Rennbahn des Lebens."¹⁴⁸ And though the actual material¹⁴⁹ contained in the songs in the case of "Hofer" is small, the romantic inspiration was so much the greater. This drama is Immermann's best monument to his love for these lays of the people.

Aside from these works, there are a number by Immermann, which, though not traceable to romantic sources from the standpoint of content, are of romantic origin. To explain: "Nathan der Weise," has, as its origin, Lessing's experiences with bigotry and his belief in the virtue of tolerance. The source of "Nathan der Weise" is to be sought in Boccaccio and elsewhere. And so with the German romanticists; there were certain themes of peculiar attraction to them. The following works of Immermann, chronologically arranged, are, from the standpoint of embryonic inspiration, of romantic origin:

"Die Prinzen von Syrakus" (1821) and "Das Auge der Liebe" (1823), are Immermann's contributions to the ro-

¹⁴⁷ Cf. *Des Knaben Wunderhorn-Reclam*, pp. 398-401.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. *Arnims Werke*, hrsg. von Monty Jacobs, Vol. I, p. 88. Other instances of Immermann's use of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* are in *Petrarca* (XVI, 230), where the first two lines of *Martinsgans* (Reclam, 153-154) are quoted; and in *Die Prinzen von Syrakus* (XIV, 12), where the entire song, *Die Rose Blüht; ich bin die fromme Biene* (Reclam, 160-170) appears.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *Euphoriön*, Bd. 7, 1900: *Ueber die Quellen zu Immermanns Trauerspiel in Tirol*, pp. 78-96, by H. Röttinger. The monograph concerns itself with the historical background.

The similarity of *Hofer* to *Tell* is apparent. Immermann followed, however, not only *Tell*, but the romantic features of the *Die Jungfrau von Orléans* with the sword, and Karl Moor-Nepomuk von Kolb on the Danube—also romantic sources. The entire drama savors of romanticism. *The Evening Sun* (New York) speaks (July 10, 1909) thus of *Hofer* and his followers: "Their adventures during that bitter struggle against overwhelming odds are as romantic and marvelous as were ever told in history or fiction."

mantic revivification of Shakespeare, who, not simply as the author of four romantic dramas, but as the poet of "progressive, universal poetry"¹⁵⁰ concerned, roughly speaking, all of the German romanticists in some way. They made him known to the world.¹⁵¹ Many of Immermann's dramas show Shakespearean influence, especially "Edwin," but "D.P.v.S" is Shakespeare's "Comedy of Errors." This is seen not only in the theme, in which separated brothers seek and find each other, but in the general tone of superficiality, the lack of any underlying thought that characterizes both works. "D.A.d.L." is Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream." Immermann has literally taken over the characters Oberon, Titania, Puck, the Fairies, and, to a certain degree, the realistic characters. And in the poem "Sommerabendtraum,"¹⁵² Immermann poetizes, through the dialogue of Lindenblüthe, Zittergras, Farnkraut, Titania and Zettel, Titania's love for Zettel even with ass's ears.

"Die Papierfenster eines Eremiten"¹⁵³ (1822) is an *Ich-Roman*. The romanticists confessed gladly and frequently. "William Lovell" is Ludwig Tieck's confession. Tieck characterized the work as a "mausoleum of cherished and nourished sorrows and mistakes."¹⁵⁴ The hermit represents Immermann, who described the purport of his work in genuine Tieckian fashion.¹⁵⁵ The story is that of a man who tries to heal his broken heart by loving another,—a personal experience with Immermann here poetically confessed. "Konig

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Friedrich Schlegel, hrsg. von Minor (*Jugendschriften*), p. 220, Bd. I.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Friedrich Schlegel, hrsg. von Minor (*Jugendschriften*), p. 13, Bd. II: "Man darf kühnlich behaupten dass Shakespeare nächst den Engländern keinem Volke so eigenthümlich angehört, wie den Deutschen, weil er von keinem in Original und in der Kopie so viel gelesen, so tief studiert, so warm geliebt, und so einsichtsvoll geliebt wird."

¹⁵² Cf. XI, 256.

¹⁵³ Cf. VIII, 4: Immermann's biographers and editors give as content source, Augustine's *Confessions* and Jacobi's *Von den göttlichen Dingen*. It is, however, impossible to find any parallel similarity between source and poem. The indebtedness that can be determined by comparative study springs from similarity of theme, not from that of content by way of actual confession.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Solgers *Nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, p. 342.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. IX, 4.

Periander und sein Haus" (1822), though a literal dramatization of a chapter of Herodotus, owes its remote origin to Immermann's passing interest in the fate-drama, as it concerned German dramatists from 1815 to 1825. It is Immermann's least subjective work. As a lawyer—Werner, Müllner, Houwald, and in a sense Grillparzer, were also lawyers—he was interested in the theme of eventual punishment for a committed crime. Periander, King of Corinth, has murdered his wife, Melitta. His two sons, Thrasyll and Lykophron, are the last surviving members of his house. As a result of his crime, the sons come to an untimely end, the father then takes his own life. The word "Schicksal" is of frequent occurrence in the drama.¹⁸⁶ "*Der neue Pygmalion*" (1823) owes its origin to the popular romantic theme of the animation of the inanimate. Immermann has taken as the background of his novel the familiar theme as it centres around Venus, Pygmalion, Galatea and Paphos. It was treated also by Tieck, A. W. Schlegel, Dorothea Schlegel, Friedrich Kind, Novalis, and referred to by Fouqué in "*Undine*."¹⁸⁷ This, and the legends of Tannhäuser, Arion, Narzissus and others all furnished themes for the romanticists.¹⁸⁸

"*Die Verkleidungen*" (1827) is Immermann's tribute to Walter Scott, also a romantic reviver of the past. Scott, naturally, can not be said to have influenced the German romanticists as he did Hugo, Balzac, Stendhal, de Vigny, and Merimée—"Waverly" did not appear until 1814—yet he was read by Tieck, Fouqué and Arnim.¹⁸⁹ In the play, Eduard Sternberg, the actor, appears masked as "*Der grosse Unbekannte*" (Scott). There are various references throughout

¹⁸⁶ Cf. XVI, 361. Der erste Vorsteher says: "Er (Periander) hat sein Schicksal in der Hand." Der zweite replies: "Das hat der Mensch nie, denn er ist wunderbaren Einflüssen unterworfen."

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *Undine*, Chapter VIII.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. *Studien zur neuhochdeutschen Legendendichtung* (pp. 54-69), Paul Merker.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. *Historische Romane deutscher Romantiker*, Dr. Karl Wenger, Bern, 1905. The work is an essay on the influence of Scott. Immermann translated Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1824) to practice his English. (P. I, 117.) It has been impossible to secure a copy of this translation. Four of the *Ivanhoe* ballads are included among his poems (cf. XI, 126-130).

to Scott's works. The mask idea is here more than a mere coincidence.

"Tulifäntchen" (1829) is an example, *par excellence*, of romantic irony. That Immermann was here merely satirizing Platen can be believed only by those unfamiliar with Immermann's previous life and works.¹⁰⁰ It is a work born of that feeling that causes one to take a perspective of the past and then laugh at it all. Immermann was ironically smiling at some of his own past efforts. Tulifäntchen, with a knife blade for a sword, a groschen for a shield, a nut-shell for armor, starts out to right mighty wrongs, and finds himself at last locked in a bird-cage.

"Der Carneval und die Somnambule" (1829) contains what Immermann had to say on the subjects of animal magnetism, clairvoyancy, somnambulism and similar pseudo-sciences, all of which found defenders and antagonists among the regular romanticists.¹⁰¹

"Das Heidelberger Schlossmärchen" (1831) is the offspring of such interest in the artistic fairy-tale as was shown by Goethe, Novalis, Chamisso, Tieck, Fouqué and Hoffmann.¹⁰² In the same class might be placed "Das Anderl von Rinn—eine Legende" (1833).¹⁰³

"Albrecht Dürers Traum" (1833) glorifies art in general and Dürer in particular. From Wackenroder¹⁰⁴ on the romanticists venerated the old German artists. In this festival play, Dürer is at first discouraged. Then there appear to him in a

¹⁰⁰ All Immermann editors raise the question as to whether he had Platen in mind when he wrote *Tulifäntchen*.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Franz Anton Mesmer, *Entdecker des thierischen Magnetismus* von Dr. Justinus Kerner. The chapter (pp. 18-50) on *Mesmers erste magnetische Heilungen* bears a striking similarity to the cures related in *D. C. u. d. S.* and ascribed to the Polish Countess Sidonie.

¹⁰² Cf. *Ueber die Entwicklung des rom. Kunstmärchens*, Hermann Todsen, Berlin, 1906. Respectively: *Das Märchen, Rosenblütchen und Hyacinth, Adalberts Fabel, Der blonde Eckbert, Undine* and *Der goldene Topf*.

¹⁰³ Cf. X, pp. 255-256. *Das Waldmärchen* (III, pp. 74-96) belongs also in this class.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (Jessen edition) p. 81: "Friede sey mit deinen Gebeinen, mein Albrecht Dürer! und möchtest du wissen, wie ich dich lieb habe, und hören, wie ich unter der heutigen, dir fremden Welt, der Herold deines Namens bin.—Gesegnet mir deine goldene Zeit."

dream vision his two famous creations "Melancholy" and "St. Jerome." Following this vision come earthly honors. The sketch closes with the words:

"Der Traum der Wirklichkeit ist flüchtiger Dunst,—
Und ewig wahr bleibt nur der Traum der Kunst."¹⁶⁵

"Die Epigonen" (1835) is a culture novel, portraying the condition of Germany from 1820 to 1830. This work is Immermann's contribution to that whole series of novels that followed in the wake of "Wilhelm Meister," the work from which the German romanticists determined their idea of a novel.¹⁶⁶ Tieck, Friedrich Schlegel, Dorothea Schlegel, Novalis, Clemens Brentano and Eichendorff were Immermann's predecessors in this sort of productions.¹⁶⁷ "Das Tagebuch" (September, 1836, to February, 1837) also received especial attention from the romanticists. Any sort of poet would be inclined to keep a diary, but those of the romanticists were unique. Novalis dated his from the death of Sophie von Kühn, his mystic bride.¹⁶⁸ Novalis' entire journal is full of descriptions of moods, and thoughts, and accounts of what he has read rather than real events. Immermann likewise discusses these and literature and art.

"Münchhausen" (1840) is Immermann's "Don Quixote," the poetization of a romantic character. To be sure the work pictures the dubious condition of Germany from, approximately, 1830 to 1840, but the embryo is to be sought in the character of K.F.H., Baron von Münchhausen (1720-1797) with his adventuresome life, his expeditions against the Turks as well as his private escapades.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ Cf. XIX, 227.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. *Goethes W. M. und die ästhetische Doktrin der älteren Romantik* von Heinrich Prodngg.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *Der Einfluss W. M.'s auf den Roman der Romantiker*, J. O. E. Donner.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Novalis *Schriften* (Heilborn edition, Berlin, 1901) the diary begins: "Tennstedt, 18. April, den 31sten nach Sophiens Tode."

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *Ueber Immermann's "Münchhausen und Goethe und Fürst Pückler-Muskau"*, eine Studie von Franz Sintenis, who traces "M." to the personality of H. L. H. Fürst Pückler-Muskau (1785-1871); the ascription only adds weight to the statement that Immermann was here poetizing a romantic character.

And finally, "Düsseldorfer Anfänge" (1840), one of Immermann's most valuable works, is his participation in romantic criticism as practiced especially by the Schlegels, Eichendorff and Heine, and others. Immermann has here established his fame as an appreciative student of romantic literature. In this work of 210 pages Arndt, Aristophanes, Bürger, Calderon, the Eddas, Görres, Goethe, Grabbe, Halm, Herder, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Heine, Kleist, Kotzebue, Lessing, Platen, Rückert, Schiller, Shakespeare, Schenkendorf, Tieck, Uhland and various stars of lesser magnitude receive judicial comment.

Immermann said (April 30, 1839) "all my writings are simply impressions of that which I have experienced in my soul."¹⁷⁰ Goethe said about the same thing in "Dichtung und Wahrheit."¹⁷¹ The great extent to which a source or origin can be found for the most important works of Immermann would make it seem that his are not so wholly "impressions of personal experiences" as he himself seemed to think. But Goethe said also in his conversations with Eckermann: "We are always talking about originality; but what is originality? As soon as we are born the world begins to exert a definite influence upon us, and this never ceases. What can we call our own, except energy, strength and will? If I could enumerate everything that I owe to great predecessors and contemporaries, there would not be much left to call my own."¹⁷² There is nothing contradictory about these two statements, nor does either conflict with the meaning of the motto of this chapter. One can "experience" a bit of literature just as well as an actual event.¹⁷³ It is in this way that Immermann's "confession" must be interpreted. It is this interpretation that shows that the embryo, if not the body, of his important works is to be sought in the lives, customs, creations and sources of the regular romanticists.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. P. II, 271.

¹⁷¹ Cf. D. u. W., Pt. II, Book 7. "All of my works that have become known are simply fragments of one great confession."

¹⁷² Cf. *Gespräche*, May 12, 1825.

¹⁷³ Cf. Ludwig Tieck's *Genoveva*, based directly on the old *Vollsbuch*, yet Tieck said of this work: "dass es gar nicht gemacht, sondern geworden sei" (cf. *Ranfil*, p. V).

CHAPTER III

ROMANTIC CONTENTS: (1) POETRY, (2) PHILOSOPHY, (3) RELIGION, (4) MYSTICISM, (5) MISCELLANEOUS

Meine Erklärung des Wortes "Romantisch" kann ich Dir nicht schicken, weil sie hundertfünfundzwanzig Bogen lang ist.—Fr. Schlegel to A. W. Schlegel.

Aber was ist das Romantische anders als ein Sehnen nach dem Unendlichen, das unaufhaltsam forttreibt und jede selbsterbaute Schranke sofort wieder herunterreißt.—Henrich Steffens.

The German romanticists looked upon literature as a sort of crucible in which all possible creations of the mind and imagination were to be amalgamated. Art, love, nature, fancy, even science, religion and politics were to be cast in the same poetic mould, and reconciled. This was their scheme. It was reserved for romantic satire and irony later to laugh at the idea of executing it. And however broad the original programme of these enthusiasts may have been, all romantic literature can be discussed, from the standpoint of content, under just four heads: poetry, philosophy, religion and mysticism. The first three are fairly independent, the fourth results from a blending of the first three.¹

Poetry is literature for literature's sake. Eichendorff referred² to youth as the "poetry of life." Youth is life for life's sake. Poetry has never been in need of defense, not even by Aristotle, Horace, Sidney, Temple, Shelley,³ Peacock or Fr. Schlegel. Yet one of the best things the latter ever did was his "Gespräch über die Poesie."⁴ It was Tieck in

¹ Cf. Fr. Schlegel, *Jugendschriften*, Minor, II, p. 220, Athenäum Fragment, 116. Cf. Solger's *Nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, p. 689.

² Cf. D. N. L., 146. Bd. II, p. 60.

³ Cf. Shelley's *Defense of Poetry*, ed. by A. S. Cook, Boston, 1891.

⁴ Cf. Fr. Schlegel, *Jugendschriften*, Minor, II, pp. 338-385.

"Kaiser Octavian,"⁵ however, who gave the most complete picture of romantic poetry, as follows: With the introduction of Christianity, all the old gods passed away, except Venus, who betook herself to a dark, lonely forest. Here, disguised as a woman pilgrim, she met a hermit who wooed and won her. In course of time a child, Love, was born to them. Separated from her wily mother, Love lived on manna, until grown, when she married Faith. The union was divinely happy. The two wandered through the world, Love, like the rays of the sun, Faith, like the beams of the moon. They created a new life, a new language for man. They begat Poetry, the herald, the guardian, the protector, the king of joy and pleasure. Fond of the chase, Poetry rides a great white charger. Her retinue is Valor, Jest, Faith and Love. Jest accompanies Love, the mother, while Valor is the page of Faith, the father. Poetry is precocious and whimsical; it is for this reason that her own parents make up part of her retinue. Though envied or forsaken by all others, Poetry will remain as sacred to the poet as the temple to the priest.

Such is Tieck's picture of romantic poetry. The most "poetic" passages in Immermann's writings harmonize conspicuously with this literary formula.

The first of these is in "Das Thal von Ronceval." The general indebtedness of this drama to Tieck's "Octavian" is seen in the extreme similarity of the themes; the conflict between Occidentals and Orientals, as it centres, in Tieck,⁶ around Marceville, der Sultan von Babylon, Golimbra and Florens, and in Immermann, respectively, around Zoraide, Marsilias, Ferragus and Roland. In both dramas a Moorish woman forsakes her father and the Moorish lover he had destined for her and marries a Christian. The passage in question deals with the love, conversion and baptism of Zoraide.⁷

⁵ Cf. *Kaiser Octavian*, Prolog; *Der Aufzug der Romanze*, Tieck's *Schriften*, Bd. I, pp. 5-33. Cf. also p. xxxviii.: "Es war im Deutschland vom Charakter des Romantischen so viel die Rede gewesen, versuchte ich es in diesem Märchen zugleich meine Ansicht der romantischen Poesie allegorisch, lyrisch und dramatisch nieder zu legen."

⁶ Cf. Tieck's *Schriften*, Bd. I, p. 170.

⁷ Cf. XVI, pp. 83-89; act IV, scene 3. Heine was lavish in his praise of this scene, claiming that it moved him to tears when he read it, and

She speaks the flowery language of the Orient, with a goodly number of anachronistic classicisms. Roland is a typical medieval Christian knight, faithful, courageous, devout and ingenuous, with a touch of secretive fatalism.⁸ It is a scene of romantic love and faith. Valor is also present. Zoraide pictures to Roland how they can leave the dust and din of strife and struggle and wander unmolested on narrow paths through flower groves and deep dark dells till they come to the sacred sea. There a lone boat lies ready. She will spread her blue veil as a sail, and they will play with wind and wave till they come to the idyllic island of Mallorca. There they will live in olive groves surrounded by rose hedges, protected by vines and massive elms. At night the stars, the holy eyes of Heaven, will watch over the sleep of happy lovers. But Roland will not. This would be treason to the cause he loves. And Zoraide can not give up the gods of her father. So they part; but not until she has given him a rose, and he her a cross. In the meantime a hermit priest explains to her the meaning of Christian love. And now she loves as she never loved before. And she is baptized and is called Maria, and becomes the bride of Roland. It is a poetic scene. And while it would be of only third-rate merit in the works of a first-rate poet, it is first-rate poetry in the works of a third-rate poet. The parallel to Zoraide is Roxelane in "Kaiser Friedrich II."⁹ She, too, is poetic, but from a different standpoint; she gives a poetic tone to the entire poem, Zoraide poetizes one particular scene. With Roxelane it is extenuated poetry, with Zoraide it is sublimated poetry.

A similar scene is found in "Petrarca." It is the legend of the lily and the swan, by means of which Petrarch portrays to Laura the pangs he is suffering as a result of forbidden, though not wholly unrequited love.¹⁰ A long while ago, in the lofty land of souls, among the gods, in the time of the gods,

that there was a striking similarity in it to one in his *Almansor*. Cf. *Heine-Briefe*, hrsg. von Hans Daffis, Bd. I, p. 81.

⁸ Cf. Deetjen: *Immermanns Jugenddramen*, p. 39.

⁹ Cf. XVII, p. 197, and elsewhere in this drama.

¹⁰ Cf. XVI, pp. 272-274; the scene is the meadow on the Sorgue. The scenes are not numbered. Act III.

there lived two pure spirits, who refreshed themselves by a drop of light, bathed in a ray of beauty, and warmed their bodies by a breath of love. Then there came a mighty change in the universe. The two spirits were separated and obliged to begin a new existence. She began as a lily, he as a swan. She, growing wild by a fishpond, was found by a gardner and transplanted to his private garden, where she lived in a luxurious prison. He swam over all the seas in search of her. Finally he found her, but she was forbidden him, she was the property of another. The swan's song of approaching death brings dewy tears from the lily's chalice. If the entire scene is not romantically poetic, it is because it is so conventional. It reads almost like stereotyped "poetry."

The next poetic scene is in "Tulifäntchen."¹¹ Here it is poetic fancy. It has been revealed to the poet in a dream how clouds are made. They are not the vapid vapors sucked from vulgar water by the heat of the sun; they are the children of sighs. The sighs of children produce the tiny fleecy clouds shaped and colored like the pearls. The sighs of the coquette, of the vain one now forsaken, beget those long drawn streaks that clumsily becloud the sky and seem to say: we know not what we want nor what we mean. From the sighs of oppressed innocence come black storm clouds, and from those brought on by worry over the mean things of life, the heavy gray rain clouds. But away with all such! Let us betake ourselves to those beautiful princesses of the air, those clouds bordered by the moon, or embroidered by the sun with purple roses, holding, as they do, sweet secret discourse with the sky. These are the sighs of virgins, frightened at the reflection of their own beauty in the fountain, the sighs of lofty women that inspire heroism, the sighs of poets over sorrows too sacred to commit to song. It is on this sort of clouds that the good fay spirits away the tiny hero.¹²

¹¹ Cf. XIII, 104-107.

¹² Cf. Richard Meyer *Tulifäntchen*, p. 82. Meyer thinks that Immermann could not have been influenced by Aristophanes *Clouds*, since, according to Putlitz (II, 308), Immermann did not become specially interested in Aristophanes till the Droysen translation (1839). The translation of J. H. Voss, however, appeared at Braunschweig in 1821. Immermann owned

'And following close on this is another poetic scene, one of medieval love in "Merlin."¹³ Lancelot, in compensation for his rescue of Ginevra from Klingsor's dwarf, in the forest of Dioflee is made the twelfth knight at Arthur's court. Then Lancelot loves Ginevra. But she is Arthur's. But Arthur is not so jealous as Marke. And from Ginevra's veil he makes a sash for Lancelot, and then, under the guard of honor, bids him revel in the graces of his queen. And then the poetry of it. Again it is not unrequited but forbidden love. Solomon bound the spirits with seven seals, but Lancelot's bonds are stronger. He can only, troubadour-like, express his love to hill and flower and wave, and stone and star. And Ginevra says: that woman's beauty is like precious wine, and man's soul a golden goblet. And the sparkling wine is truly resplendent only when seen in a chalice of gold. Woman's love is only love when in the soul of man. And Lancelot will offer his soul to Ginevra as to a delicate vine, a child of spring, putting forth in dewy darkness the purple buds of sweet red kisses. And she will cling to him as to a gigantic oak. And her breath of love and dew of tears will be seen in the rustling of the leaves. And Lancelot says forbidden love is but a gruesome fate. And Ginevra says our love is therefore love. It is a literary passage, woven into this philosophic poem for literature's sake. And it is romanticism.

Then a passage of romantic imagination in "Münchhausen."¹⁴ It is entitled "Die Wunder im Spessart" with the

the complete work (cf. *Catalog*, Nos. 339 to 341). The three main motives: Clouds formed from "der Denkkraft feucht Gedünst" (cf. Voss, Bd. I, 214), their position as "Herrinnen der Luft," and their services by way of spiriting someone away, Socrates-Tulifantchen, could have been taken from Aristophanes. It is here, as so often with Immermann, impossible to say, dogmatically, whether he "borrowed" or not.

¹³ Cf. XV, 119-120.

¹⁴ Cf. The difference made here between romantic "fancy" as in the "Tulifantchen" scene and romantic "imagination" is that made by Wordsworth in his poems classified in this way. Under both headings Wordsworth has written a poem to the skylark. In the fancy poem, the poet would lift himself to the clouds, to the skylark's "banqueting place in the sky." In the imagination poem, the poet would bring the skylark down to the earth "where cares abound." Fancy is the L'Allegro, imagination the Il Penseroso of poetic genius.

subtitle "Waldmärchen."¹⁵ It is a highly imaginative fairy tale of love, set in nature, told in artistic prose, flavored with a strong element of the miraculous, and replete with individual romantic devices. The characters are a knight, his page, a wandering scholar, and an enchanted princess. Albertus Magnus is glorified and Gottfried von Strassburg is revered.

Lisbeth and Oswald vie with each other in praise of the forest, where the breeze from the trees is like the breath of God, where every blade of grass is bedecked with a thousand pearls, where one can be alone and yet without fear, where one can run and not grow weary, where the woodsman's ax strikes and strikes, the clock of the forest, announcing that time even there is passing and we note it not except by its passing, where bird and beast and man and plant goes each its several way and the forest remains forever the gallery of God. It is in such a forest that the story takes place with which Oswald delights Lisbeth. The fair Doralice had wandered into its deepest, darkest parts to escape the purposes of Count Archimbald, her guardian. Suddenly she heard a spoken word. The song of the nightingale was rough and the rolling of the thunder was but a whisper in comparison. And she fell into a deep enchanted sleep. The scholar from the West tried to remove the veil from nature—he tempted nature. He tried to awaken the Princess by magic incantations. He speaks the magic word taught him by his old master who understood the mysteries of nature. His wand is a branch of the yew tree. And for all his supernatural efforts he receives death. The knight from the East kisses her a natural kiss of love and thereby wakens, woos and wins her.

And finally, we have "Die Jagd"¹⁶ in "Tristan." It is a

¹⁵ Cf. IV, 74-96.

¹⁶ Cf. XIII, 50-77. That this passage is merely an attempt to give a really poetic account of the chase is shown by the fact that 27 pages are devoted to it, and the only facts that we gather from the episode are that Tristan is made master of the chase at Marke's court. In the *Gassenhauer* (cf. pp. 71-73) which Tristan sings, and which cannot be called "poetry" in the present sense, Tristan does tell of his abduction by the Norman merchants, but this is a small part of the entire episode. In this connection it might be added that it is not without significance that one seeks in vain for purple patches among Immermann's isolated lyrics.

description
✓ of
forest

antic chase. The real hero is the deer, until Tristan appears. Immermann was fond of poetizing the chase. This is his most poetic effort, woven in here, as is the case with all these passages, as a sort of poetic intermezzo, for literature's sake.

By the "philosophy" of a German romanticist is meant his poetic attitude toward nature. And this is necessarily so, because the period of German literature bounded by the birth of Lessing (1729) and the death of Heine (1856) is analogous, in broad outline, to the period of German philosophy that falls between the birth of Kant (1724) and the death of Schopenhauer (1860). In each, from the standpoint of romantic literature or philosophy, there are five rather clearly defined stages of development: Lessing's rationalism, Herder's universal poetry, Tieck's phantastic romanticism, Eichendorff's healthy romanticism and Heine's romantic irony and pessimism mark the five prominent stages in the literature of the century. Kant's reason, Fichte's egoism, Schelling's nature, Hegel's absolutism and Schopenhauer's will mark the five prominent stages in the philosophy of the century.¹⁷ The most exact analogy is found between Schelling and Tieck. The orthodox romanticists were all nature-philosophers; but Tieck was the poet of nature while Schelling was the philosopher of nature. At the same time, there was some of the philosopher in Tieck and much of the poet in Schelling. They represent the acme of nature-worship. Schelling's "*Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Natur*" appeared 1797, his "*Von der Weltseele*" 1798, his "*Entwurf eines Systems der Naturphilosophie*" 1799, and his "*System des transzendentalen Idealismus*" 1800. The cardinal theses of his nature-philosophy are, nature is visible mind (Geist), mind invisible nature. Nature and mind are as inseparable as body and soul. The laws of mind are laws of nature; the revelations of mind are incidents of nature. Nature is the unity of opposing powers.¹⁸ And so, to deter-

¹⁷ Cf. Royce: *Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, pp. 101-264.

¹⁸ Cf. Noack: *Schelling und die Philosophie der Romantik*, Bd. I, pp. 201-306.

mine Immermann's "romantic philosophy" is to determine his attitude toward nature.¹⁹ What was this?

Immermann was impressed by nature more than he was influenced by it. His "Travels," "Diary" and "Memoirs" abound in interesting observations on nature, its beauty, its purposes, its influence on man, its relation to God. But his epic writings, and especially his dramas and lyrics, do not show a correspondingly large amount of nature-sense. He theorized on nature in his works of applied literature without, to any striking degree, attempting to practice his theories in his works of pure literature. It is here as elsewhere with the prevailing tendencies. His contemporaries made much of nature. He tried, then, likewise to draw from this inexhaustible source, and he occasionally succeeded. But his appeal was frequently not entirely honest and the response was accordingly artificial. In 1837, he visited the Fichtelgebirge. He writes: "Tieck says the region around Burg Berneck made a peculiar, tragic impression on him. I have had no such feeling. Perhaps Tieck saw it in a particular mood, with a special sort of illumination, upon which much depends." Immermann seems here to have been studying nature in order to verify the report of another, rather than communing with nature because he loved her. He returned to nature, again and again, just as one might go to a great gallery, not to study art in all its phases,

¹⁹ It is no wonder that the romanticists were nature-philosophers, when we recall the great names that glorified science during and preceding Schelling's appearance in the romantic arena. His dates (1775-1854) coincide almost to a year with those of Tieck (1773-1853). Between the birth of Cavendish (1731) and the death of Ritter (1869) these and the following made epoch-making scientific discoveries: Lavoisier, Priestley, Lichtenberg, Volta, Werner, Alex. v. Humboldt, L. v. Buch, Baader, Steffens, Schubert, Cuvier, John Brown, Blumenbach and Forster. (cf. Noack, Vol. I, pp. 201-219). Also, Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre* (1794), Herder's *Gespräche über das System Spinozas* (1787), Goethe's *Optische Vorträge* (1791-1792), *Metamorphose der Pflanzen* (1790) and Schiller's theosophic writings (1786) all made an impression on Schelling's receptive mind. To determine, however, Immermann's "philosophy" is certainly not to attempt to prove that he was a direct disciple of Schelling. This much can be said: Immermann had but little sympathy with Fichte's philosophy (cf. XVIII, 181), at least with the purely speculative phase of it. Of Schelling, Immermann only says: "Bei S. sieht man Analogien der rom. Philosophie mit rom. Schicksalen." (XVIII, 192.)

but because of a fondness for a few particular creations. It is the limitations of Immermann's nature-sense that make it noteworthy and at the same time possible of brief treatment.²⁰ And strange as the collection may sound, these are the pictures that he studied, over and over: autumn, night and darkness, caverns and abysses, forests, waving grain-fields, running brooks, microscopic studies of plants and animals, moss and many colored views. He had an analytic rather than synthetic appreciation of nature, his own words to the contrary notwithstanding. He saw the small in nature and not the large. Immermann wrote in 1831:²¹ "The world of people is my world. Just as I am in many respects old Franconian, so do I likewise have some of the now almost unknown feeling of the Cinquecentos. The group is to me the important thing; stream, rock, forest, these I consider secondary. To rave over this sort of thing betrays a kind of hysteria and weakness." It can not be said that Immermann ever betrayed this weakness born of visionary enthusiasm over nature. But at the same time it can not be said that he ever attempted a great broad group-view of mountain, sea, or sky, or earth. He has, however, attempted many small ones.

He appreciated nature primarily only in so far as it was inseparably connected with some form of human activity. He went (1832) to Wetzlar to read "Werther" "on the spot." He writes:²² "The most remarkable thing about this book is its interweaving of the human heart with nature; for if I were to read it over a hundred times, I could not say whether spring made Werther's heart so warm and winter it so cold, or whether his heart made the flowers of spring so fragrant and the gloom of winter so intense." In 1833 he went to Tyrol. He writes:²³ "Other people talk so much about the religious sensations with which nature inspires them. I have never had this sort of feeling. Nature's infinite conglomeration simply gives me a certain sensual-ethical pleasure or it fills me with a

²⁰ In this section, for obvious reasons, conclusions and not arguments must suffice, however tempting it may be to quote by way of corroboration or to compile by way of showing that a given view is not the expression of a passing mood but of a deep rooted and oft recurring sensation.

²¹ Cf. X, 14.

²² Cf. X, 265.

²³ Cf. X, 248.

sort of magic awe. I get nearer to God only in history, in things moral, and in the love which I cherish toward others or which they show toward me." He said²⁴ that if nature was to charm him, there must be a happy variety and a character of cheerful human presence. The mountain must not be without the forest. He saw a sunset in the Alps, and when he looked at the snow-capped peaks as the sun went down behind them he said to himself:²⁵ "There is the God of Spinoza; an omnipresent, everlasting and omnipotent being. Man is born to love and to hate. But what is man compared with the Alps? And yet, the man born in the Alps is stronger than the man born in the plain." These and similar expressions show that Immermann was interested in nature. His difficulty lay in trying to see in nature what others saw in it. He is not quite true to himself. When he assures us that he finds God more easily elsewhere than in nature, he is only betraying the fact that his soul was not made of the same stuff as was that of his great prototype, Goethe. As soon as he let himself go and became unconscious, then he showed the real qualities of his nature-sense. He described the views and scenery around Ahrweiler and then said:²⁶ "Here would be a good place to write the poem of 'Tristan und Isolde.'"

These are some of his figures. He was continually crying out against "das grelle Tageslicht" and "des Lichts Erkühnen." Evening was his favorite time of day,²⁷ autumn his favorite season; the season of many colors and of harvest. He writes (1836): "My cheerful autumn mood, which always forms an agreeable contrast to my irritability in spring and my depression in summer, had returned and made me see the world in a new light."²⁸ Again, he envies the plants and trees because spring gives them buds and summer flowers and autumn rocks them to sleep for a while before they go into the season of cold and snow. But man has no such resting season. He goes direct from summer to winter.²⁹ Again, he tells how he often sits and listens to nature in the autumn when its life

²⁴ Cf. P. I, 353.

²⁷ Cf. VII, 120.

²⁵ Cf. X, 248.

²⁸ Cf. P. II, 124-125.

²⁶ Cf. X, 257.

²⁹ Cf. V, 9.

especially appeals to him.³⁰ When nature was too bright it seemed to mock him. The tournament³¹ in "Tristan" takes place in spring, giving him a good opportunity to describe the season. But one can see that he is not in sympathy with it. He is continually referring to the "fandango of nature," the "roguish irony of nature" at this time of the year. One of the best pictures in the entire poem is the one that centres around the stanza beginning "Ans Fenster setzte Marke sich."³² His works are also not without the conventional attitude toward autumn. Friedrich II says:³³

Thaddäus todt!—Mein ältester Freund dahin!—
Kommt nun der Herbst und fallen meine Blätter?

Aside from the word "Moos," the most common words in Immermann's writings are "Höhle," "Abgrund," "finster," "dunkel" and "schwarz." His favorite color was not the romantic blue, but black. Out of darkness he made a sort of poetic cult. Merlin says:³⁴

"Vor meinem Geist steht alles klar und hart;
Ich schmachte nach den Finsternissen!"

Hermann longs³⁵ for happy darkness and hopeful night instead of the cold, clear, light of reason and experience. In "Düsseldorfer Anfänge" there is a blue domino, Schnaase, a red one, Uechtritz, and a black one, Immermann. A common device is to have a fallen hero pray that night may descend and cover his past. In "Ronceval," which is essentially a night drama, Ganelon, when he sees the awful outcome of his own treachery, says:³⁶

Nacht, steig herunter
Und ende nicht! Es stehet schlimm mit uns,
Wenn wir, des Tages Kinder, scheun den Tag;
Fast besser wär' es dann, sich selbst in Nacht
Zu betten und von Tage abzuschneiden!

When Manfred sees that his case with Roxelane is hopeless, he says:³⁷

³⁰ Cf. P. II, 46.
³¹ Cf. XV, 26-37.
³² Cf. XIII, 91.

³³ Cf. XVII, 220.
³⁴ Cf. XV, 124.
³⁵ Cf. V, 9.

³⁶ Cf. XVI, 95.
³⁷ Cf. XVII, 216.

So fallt, Ihr Sterne, von dem Himmel nieder!
 Verschwinde, Mond! Tauch in den Abgrund, Sonne!
 Ich fluche Dir, o Tag! Nacht soll es sein!

When Jeanneton sees how false Petrarca has played her, she says:³⁸

Ihr Wolken, steigt nieder, decket mich
 Wie ein Gebirge, dass er mich nicht finde!

Sidonie, in "Der Carneval und die Somnambule" says:³⁹ "I am afraid of daylight; midnight is my friend. God's eye shines most brightly through darkness." And so examples could be continued from every work and under all sorts of circumstances.⁴⁰ To Immermann the dark was poetic.

Closely allied to this poetization of the dark is Immermann's abnormal fondness for caves and abysses. They play a large rôle in the dramas "Periander" and "Ghismonda." A poetic adaptation of the theme is in the dedication to "Merlin." Following the jolly, jesting rose the poet is led to a strange place:⁴¹

Die Schwelle, sanft gebreitet,
 Lag unter hoher Pforte,
 Die in ein Innres leitet',
 Aus dem ein Glanz fiel nach dem äussern Orte,
 Ich ahnt' in diesem Bau, begrünt von Moose,
 Uralter Schöpfung Worte.

It is here that the poet meets the spirits of Schnaase, Dante, Novalis and Wolfram von Eschenbach. A typical description of caves is that found in "Fränkische Reise."⁴² He tells how he enjoyed the peculiar feeling of infinite loneliness in these subterranean vaults filled with documents that tell the history of the creation of the world. Such places, he says, must have been the work-shop of the "mothers" about whom Plutarch has so much to say, and of whom Goethe speaks in the second part of "Faust." Immermann has treated the abyss with

³⁸ Cf. XVI, 269.

³⁹ Cf. VIII, 120.

⁴⁰ Immermann also formed some unusual compounds from the adjective "black": kohlpechschwarz, der finstre Schnitter, dunkles Blut, dunkle Klage, schwarze Thaten, schwarzes Wort, der dunkle Trieb, finstre Kunde, dunkles Feuer, schwarzer Saat.

⁴¹ Cf. XV, 53-58.

⁴² Cf. XX, 41-51.

equal frequency and poetic feeling. He says of the waves in "Tristan":⁴³

Dis Wellen sind wie Lüfte grüne,
Durchsichtig ob des Abgrunds Bühne.

Immermann shows himself most a romanticist in the treatment of the forest. "Das Thal von Ronceval," "Edwin" and "Merlin" are forest dramas. "Epigonen" and the idyllic part of "Münchhausen" are largely forest novels, and "Die Papierfenster" is wholly so. If there were any need of seeking for positive proof that Immermann was a romanticist after 1830, one could find it in the treatment of the forest in "Oberhof." The introduction to the "Waldmärchen" is a good example of his love of the forest. And this scene, located in the Spessart, finds a repetition in Immermann's travels through this same region.⁴⁴ In "Der Oberhof,"⁴⁵ the wild huntsman longs to walk on unknown paths that will lead him deeper and deeper into the depths of the forest, where he can dip his soul into the cool darkness of the trees and refresh his mind amid the moss covered rocks and bubbling fountains and gigantic oaks. In "Die Papierfenster" the picture of nature is strong, but negative. As long as Friedrich had had hope of winning Coelestine, he drank the wine of joy from nature's thousand beakers. But now, when he has no hope, he speaks to nature, but it is deaf to his appeals.

The most instructive, if not the most poetic feature of Immermann's nature-sense is his detailed exactness, his almost microscopic observation of life in nature. To read his works is to take a course in German fauna and flora. The embryo of this characteristic is to be found, possibly, in his early training. Friedrich says:⁴⁶ "I could reel off all the names of all the

⁴³ Cf. XIII, 242.

⁴⁴ Cf. XX, 14-18.

⁴⁵ Cf. I, 196-206. The subtitle of the chapter (no. 11) is *Die fremde Blume und das schöne Mädchen*. The entire chapter, excepting for some political views, is a revelation of romantic instincts. It is here that the hero lets his own red blood flow into the running brook as he takes a solemn oath. He was "intoxicated with the magic of nature" (cf. I, 197).

⁴⁶ Cf. VIII, 24; *Die Papierfenster*. Friedrich is Immermann. And later, when Friedrich's place has been taken by Walther, the aunt tells how much more interesting it was to hear him discuss nature. "He leads us into the circle of Humboldt" (IX, 34).

plants according to Linné, but when alone, in the open forest, I could scarcely distinguish a black thorn from an oak." A common device is to bring in close connection plants of different and contrasting kinds. In "Tristan," he tells⁴⁷ us that just as prince and pauper are often to be found side by side, so does the gardner (der kräuterkundige Mann) place together lily and cactus, rhubarb and rose, poppy and mimosa, wormwood and sugar, palm and cabbage.⁴⁸

And closely allied to this is Immermann's poetization of moss. It is to him as the blue flower to Novalis. A significant description of moss is found in his essay on the family.⁴⁹ The moss-theme runs through all his works,⁵⁰ used now literally, now figuratively, now to form a couch for a sleeping Amanda,⁵¹ now to stop the wound of a bleeding Hermann.⁵² He finds a nest of humble-bees in a tuft of moss and makes a pilgrimage to this spot day by day, until, to his great regret, the bees transferred their dwelling place.⁵³ And finally with this, as with "black," he writes⁵⁴ a poetic fairy-tale on moss in his last work, "Düsseldorfer Anfänge." When God had made the earth, he had some material left over. He called the gods together to ask what should be done with this remnant. Some advised this, some that. But with all the advice God was dissatisfied. So he scattered the material broadcast over the earth, giving us surplus, chance. Moss is the excess of the plant-world. We find it everywhere. There is color-moss and thought-moss. Everyone has moss in his head, and when it comes to light, it does so in the form of delicate plays of the

⁴⁷ Cf. XIII, 207. *Die Meerfahrt*.

⁴⁸ In the chapter of *Tristan* entitled *Mittagssaubere* there follow in rapid succession: Mistel, Korn, Birke, Tanne, Eiche, die blaue Blume, Roggen, Kletten, Quecken, Saffran, Palme, Granit, Haide (XIII, 185ff). In *Münchhausen*, one chapter produces: Kühe, gelbes Rösslein, schwarzer Rappe, Schmetterling, Hirschkäfer, Buntspecht, Zaunkönig, Finke, Pfau, Kohlmeise, Eichhorn, Elster, Wildschwein, Eidechse, Kanker, Forelle, Schmerle, Fliege, Mücke, Schuhu, Nachtigall, and then, as if he himself were tired of this classifying, *Gewürm* und *Gekäfer* (IV, 74-96).

⁴⁹ Cf. XVIII, 80-81.

⁵⁰ For other uses of moss, cf. II, 52, 63, 64, 68, 69, 71, 73, 121; XV, 56, 69, 80, 144, 91; XVIII, 30, 46, 58, 80, 131; XX, 48, 49, 58, 64, 135.

⁵¹ Cf. XIV, 164.

⁵² Cf. XIX, 110.

⁵³ Cf. V, 171.

⁵⁴ Cf. XX, 135-140.

l. Youth is the budding time, and men are differentiated from each other by the moss in their heads and by the way in which they make use of it.

Und wenn es sich trifft,
Und wenn es sich schickt,
So wird er ein Dichter.⁵⁵

In conclusion: Immermann had an irregular rather than a sustained nature-sense such as was possessed by Heine, Tieck, Novalis or Brentano. He either poetized a hobby or conventionalized opportune situations. He was fond of waving grain-fields and running brooks. But from the days of the Psalmist all poets have made much of these. He did not have a poetic appreciation of the large outlook. In 1834, he saw, for the first time, the ocean at Scheveningen. It made a wonderful impression on him, calling to mind the activity of Peter the Great.⁵⁶ Yet in "Alexis," where a splendid opportunity was offered for a great picture of the sea,⁵⁷ we do not detect the poetization of the sea's impression. In "Tristan" we get a good picture of the sea only in the chapter "Cornwall,"⁵⁸ and here because it is at night. And here, we get a better picture of night on the sea than the sea by night. Throughout his dramas, nature is used somewhat artificially or conventionally. In all "Alexis" there is scarcely one romantic nature passage; there is a good picture of the heath,⁵⁹ the only one in his writings. The best appreciation of nature in his lyrics is found in the poems "Wonne und Wehmuth" and "Frühlings-Capriccio."⁶⁰ Here the flowers speak and weep

⁵⁵ Cf. Faust, I, 2458-2460.

⁵⁶ Cf. P. II, 75-77.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Die Bojaren*, Act III, Scenes 4-6.

⁵⁸ Cf. XIII, 235ff.

⁵⁹ Cf. XV, 361-366.

⁶⁰ Cf. XI, 48-76, and XI, 339-357. When Immermann's flowers listen, one has the feeling that there is something materialistic, almost humorous about it. He tells (cf. XX, 142) how the chestnut trees and the waves of the Rhine and the nightingales listened to the conversations carried on by himself and Schadow on Purgatory and Hagiology! But this is not material for nightingales. And in "K. F. II." (cf. XVII, 196-7), the Emperor takes Roxelane into his tent and all nature listens to their wooings. But one's poetic sense is aggrieved by the verse: "Vom Baume horcht erweckt der Papagei!"

and rejoice. Man is compared to the stars and plants. The realm of water is poetized, but all so traditionally. Immermann himself wrote:

“Die säuselnden Lüfte, die murmelnden Wellen,
Die grünenden Plätze, beblümeten Stellen,
Dis hüpfenden Lämmer, die gleitenden Schwingen
Der Schwalben, das zärtliche Nachtigallsingen,
Du singst, was zum Ekel besungen schon war.”—
Ich kann ja nicht anders! Der Frühling der Wicht,
Bringt immer aufs Neue die alte Geschichte.’

The German romanticists were intensely interested in religion, because, from their standpoint, it is infinitely comprehensive and incapable of any sort of delimitation.⁶¹ Protestantism was unsympathetic to them because of its rationalism was born. That they took kindly to Catholicism can be shown not only by their outward actions, but also by just four works: Novalis’ “Christenheit,” Tieck’s “Sternbald,” Wackenroder’s “Herzensergiessungen” and Wilhelm Schlegel’s “Geistliche Gemähde.”⁶² Immermann might be described as a super-creedal Protestant. That he was interested in Catholicism is shown by his frequent discussions of it.⁶³ In “Andreas Hofer,”⁶⁴ however, a Catholic priest is a traitor who wrecks the noble plans of a noble hero. But in “Kaiser Friedrich II,” Catholicism, from the viewpoint of a romanticist, comes to its own.

There are fifteen name characters; seven, headed by Friedrich II, belong to the Ghibelline faction, seven, headed by

⁶¹ That religion included everything, from the romanticists’ viewpoint, or that everything sprang from religion, is proved by such a work as *Religion, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Staat in ihren gegenseitigen Verhältnissen betrachtet* von Johann Jacob Wagner (1819). Wagner wrote the book under direct romantic influence, and the title is a true index of the content.

⁶² Eleven sonnets centring around the Virgin Mary. Yet Huch shows that W. Schlegel was of essentially Protestant nature (*Romantik*, I, 349).

⁶³ Cf. III, 195–197; V, 160–166; VI, 91; X, 29, 232, 259; XVIII, 73, 153, 204; XX, 5, 201, 205. P. I, 91. P. II, 85–86, 203, 214, 261.

⁶⁴ Cf. Donay; cf. Act V. Immermann’s Catholicism grew noticeably in intensity after his coming to Düsseldorf (1827). The first version of *Hofer* (1826) makes of Donay a much more vicious character than the version of 1833.

Cardinal Octavian Ubaldini, belong to the Guelf faction, and one, Roxelane, the Kaiser's daughter by romantic love, dies in the Mohammedan faith. The drama is a glorification of Catholicism. At the beginning, the Kaiser feels that he has but one foe, the Papal party, and that this foe is scarcely worth serious consideration. Friedrich says⁶⁵ to the Cardinal: "Die Kaiserkrone

Ist der Cäsaren Erb, und, wie Ihr wisst,
Hatte der Cäsar Niemand über sich."

At the end of the third act the Emperor is so completely overcome by this one foe that he says⁶⁶ to himself: "Ich bin besiegt; es ziemt nicht mehr zu leben." He dies at the end of the fifth act comforted by the Archbishop of Palermo and buried by the Catholic Church.

The drama is dedicated to Wilhelm Schadow, the leader of the Catholic circle of artists in Düsseldorf, originally a Protestant, who, out of sincere conviction, had gone over to Catholicism. It was he who constantly aided Immermann in the working out of the drama.⁶⁷ And these discussions gave occasion for complete interchange of ideas on Protestantism and Catholicism, Immermann, for argument's sake, taking the side of Protestantism. He gives here an ideal picture of Catholicism, something after the fashion of that in Novalis' "Christenheit." He believed in a Church universal. He objected to Protestantism on the ground that it was too strongly divided between Separatism and Indifferentism.⁶⁸ The drama attacks the greed⁶⁹ of the Catholic church and poetizes its glory.⁷⁰ Friedrich's religion as given in drama⁷¹ or source,⁷² was a sort of romantic pantheism that knows no pietism. The same could be said, broadly speaking, of Immermann. He has here dramatized the Church of the Pope as an institution on earth that derives its power from Heaven and through which alone all other earthly institutions must obtain Heaven's favor.

⁶⁵ Cf. XVII, 182.

⁶⁶ Cf. XVII, 240.

⁶⁷ Cf. P. I, 189.

⁶⁸ Cf. P. I, 181.

⁶⁹ Cf. Act III, scene 7.

⁷⁰ Cf. last seven scenes of Act V.

⁷¹ Cf. XVII, 232.

⁷² Cf. Raumer, *Ges. d. Hohenstaufen*, III, p. 424.

Friedrich's dramatic mistake lay in his belief that the crown takes precedence over the tiara.⁷³

Mysticism, in literature, is intensified romanticism and results from a combination of poetry, nature and religion. Both mysticism and romanticism aim at God and nature as their highest goal, and both attempt to reach this goal through poetry. Mysticism teaches the animation of the world of nature, the mundanity of God and the divinity of the soul.⁷⁴ That mysticism exercised an extraordinary influence on romanticism is proved by the fact that it was the writings of Jacob Boehme that played such a large rôle in transforming Tieck from a rationalist to a romanticist.⁷⁵ A typical poetization of mysticism is Novalis' "Die Lehrlinge zu Sais." The romantic text-book on mysticism is Görres' "Christliche Mystik."⁷⁶ It is one thing, however, to set up a coherent presentation of mysticism in one given work, it is quite another to betray mystic influence in scattered passages. There is some mysticism in several of Immermann's works. The asceticism of Friedrich in "Die Papierfenster," the prophetic visions of the blind Eudoxia in "Alexis," the martyrological love of Theresia for Christ in "Die Verschollene." But the two works in which he shows himself a consistent disciple of mysticism, and on this account his two most noteworthy⁷⁷ productions, are his five millenarian sonnets and "Merlin." To take

⁷³ Cf. XVII, 182: Ich bin den Wolken nah' gezeugt, etc.

⁷⁴ Cf. Karl Joël: *Der Ursprung der Naturphilosophie aus dem Geiste der Mystik*. In his chapter on *Die Naturmystik der Renaissance*, p. 9ff., Joël points out the extreme significance of the fact that Luther, Copernicus and Columbus were contemporaries.

⁷⁵ Cf. Ederheimer: *J. Boehme u. d. Romantiker*, 1-13.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Die Christliche Mystik* von J. Görres, Regensburg, 1836. After defining mysticism, Görres bases it on religion. (Book II, *Der religiöse und kirchliche Grund der Mystik*, pp. 167-308. Vol. 1.) He goes over the ground of the trinity, redemption, incarnation, resurrection, ascension, miracles, angels etc.

⁷⁷ Cf. These two works are called Immermann's "most noteworthy productions," because it is easy to see how he could be influenced to treat other phases of romanticism, phases that lie nearer the surface. But Immermann had a strong touch of realism in his poetic make-up, and when he sings of the coming of a new chiliastic Emperor, or of the mystic anti-Christ one wonders what could have influenced him in this direction.

first: Solger,⁷⁸ the aesthete of romanticism, divides the symbolic epic into two classes, sacred and profane, or, respectively, mystic and tragic. As an example of the mystic, he cites the poems centring around the Holy Grail, as an example of the tragic, the *Nibelungenlied*. "Merlin" is speculative mysticism. It is a symbolic-allegoric book-drama, with a great variety of verse-forms, and a wholly improbable action. The hero is born in the third scene and becomes a man, not by gradual development, but by one act of his own will. The entire drama tells the story of how Merlin, by presumptuously declaring himself to be, as it were, the Christ, becomes the anti-Christ.⁷⁹ And wherein lies the mysticism? Görres defines mysticism⁸⁰ as the doing and affecting by means of a higher freedom, the seeing and understanding by means of a higher light. It remains, then, to point out the mysticism first in the action, then in the underlying idea.

There are the following mystic acts: the life of Placidus in the Oriental desert, the appearance of Satan to Candida, the birth of Merlin, the spiriting of Candida to Britain and her burial, the relation of Klingsor to Antinous, the gnostic snake (Ophiomorphos), the gods and the hamadryads, Merlin's discovery of the heavens to Satan, Niniana's conjury with the ruby ring, the downfall of Castel Merveil at the death of Klingsor, the eclipse of the sun at the behest of Merlin and the enchantment of Merlin.

The underlying idea centres about the hero. Who is Merlin?

"Sterbliche Hülle vaterlosen Kindes,
Die arme Waise Himmels und der Erden,
Unsel' ges Fertigsein und Nimmerwerden,
Vom weichen Oel der Schwäche nie gelindert,
Von Liebe nicht befeu'rt, vom Hasse nicht gehindert."⁸¹

And when Placidus hears this answer to his question, he says "those are simply words with no meaning." And his

⁷⁸ Cf. K. W. F. Solger's *Vorlesungen über Aesthetik*, hrsg. von K. W. L. Heyse, p. 290ff.

⁷⁹ Cf. Titurell's speech, XV, 136-137.

⁸⁰ Cf. Görres: *Christliche Mystik*, Vol. 1, p. 1.

⁸¹ Cf. XV, 80.

statement sounds accurate. "Merlin" is the tragedy of contradiction, or imperfection. Merlin's character represents the discord in man's soul that came about with the introduction of Christianity. His work is the futile attempt to overcome this discord. He is a mystic prophet, equipped with all powers of heaven, and earth. His mother is the purest of virgins, his father is Satan; not the hoofed and horned Devil of tradition, but the demiurgic author of the universe. Merlin soon becomes conscious of his illustrious parentage and he believes in heredity. Like an orthodox romanticist, he sets out to harmonize all the intellectually aristocratic pursuits of man. He, or the poet, tries to unify art, religion and philosophy. The drama consists of poetry, philosophy and prayer. The old romantic school was composed of two literary critics, two poets, one preacher and one philosopher. Merlin's failure in his attempt to reconcile God, nature and man does not make his effort less mystically romantic.⁸² With one wave of his hand, he parts the clouds and says⁸³ to Satan:

Sieh, mächtiger Gott in der Natur,
Sieh droben die Natur in Gott.

But God was not to be,—would not be comprehended by Merlin. God is to be glorified but not glossed. And just as Merlin says:⁸⁴

Weil ich denn ganz mich an das All verschenkt,
Hat sich das All in mich zurückgelenkt,
Und in mir wachsen, welken, ruhn und schwanken
Nicht meine, nein,—die grossen' Weltgedanken,

and just as he declares himself to be the Paraclete, he is cast down lower than the beast of the field by Niniana, the symbol of frivolity. Restored to his normal, mortal state by the Demiurge, whom he has scorned, he believes himself utterly rejected of God, and yet he dies with the words of the Pater-noster on his lips. The mysticism of the poem lies not so much in the symbolism of the Grail or the Round Table as in the

⁸² Rudolf Gottschall: *Deut. Nationallitteratur*, says, in this connection, that *Merlin* is the Apotheosis of romantic irony (cf. I, 557).

⁸³ Cf. XV, 103.

⁸⁴ Cf. XV, 126.

poetization of thoughts⁸⁵ that, for any but a romanticist, lie too deep for poetry. The drama only emphasizes the charm of the infinite. Lohengrin says⁸⁶ to Parzival:

Was wär' das Heil'ge, ständ' es zu erringen?
Unendliches, was wär' es, wenn das Endliche
Zu ihm gelangte mit der Sehnsucht Schwingen?
Nein, mich umfängt das Unabwendliche.

And following close on "Merlin" are the five chiliastic sonnets (1832) about the Christ that is to come. It is an idea to which Immermann gave considerable thought.⁸⁷ The Eddas were extremely interesting to him because of the mixture of the legendary and the Christian-Gnostic-Chiliastic elements contained in them.⁸⁸ He thought, after "Merlin" was finished, of writing an "Erlöster Merlin," stating, however, that he did not know just how he would proceed.⁸⁹ Putlitz says⁹⁰ he would have dramatized the idea contained in these sonnets: that the new King will appear, not as a world-deadening figure, but in world-transforming glory.

The first sonnet⁹¹ tells when the new Christ will appear; when the records of to-day have been found to be fabulous. The second tells how he will come; not as a warrior-king, nor as a prophet, but as one whose every act brings renewed joy to man. The third defends the poet's attitude toward the new Christ on the ground that man derives no real joy from the present one. The fourth attacks St. Simonism as it had been propagated by Claude Henri in his "Nouveau Christianisme." The fifth swears allegiance in advance to the Christ that is to come.

⁸⁵ Cf. Wegener: *Aufsätze sur Litteratur*, pp. 87-179. Wegener, by the expenditure of a good deal of energy, makes *Merlin* a Protestant poem: Merlin comes to grief because he forgot God when he assumed God's role. He can now regain God's mercy not through any act of his. This must come, voluntarily, from God Himself. The essay is valuable because of the relation it shows between the poem and Fichte-Schelling and Spinoza.

⁸⁶ Cf. XV, 134.

⁸⁷ Cf. XI, 222-225.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Beer's Briefwechsel*, p. 238.

⁸⁹ Cf. XV, 52.

⁹⁰ Cf. P. I, 336.

⁹¹ Cf. For all the sonnets, XI, 222-226.

The foregoing sections treat, in broad outline, the essential phases of Immermann's romanticism. It is in accordance with such a formula that the contents of the works of any German romanticist can be most completely analyzed. Yet this scheme does not entirely cover romantic content. There are certain devices that continually recur in romantic creations. It is customary to speak of certain works as being intensely romantic, as containing many romantic devices: Eichendorff's "Sehnsucht," Tieck's "Genoveva," Novalis' "Ofterdingen." The great majority of these miscellaneous motives were touched upon by Immermann, and the most important are the following:

He introduces his dramas by means of a prologue or dedication that gives to the entire drama a romantic atmosphere, as in "Das Thal von Ronceval." The scene is in the Pyrenees, amid the graves of the fallen heroes. Saga speaks. This protectress of the battle-valley lives under the runic stone of the heroic age with the spirits of the rocks, in a moss covered cavern. She tells of the glories of the past and the poet dips her simple story in rainbow colors, and we are to get a picture of joy and sorrow, of love and hate. Tieck has written nothing more romantic than the entire prologue.

Aside from the choicest lyrics of Heine, Uhland and Eichendorff and the greatest dramas of Kleist and Grillparzer, the romanticists' chief claim to fame lies in the realm of epic writings. And this is the case with Immermann. It is the epic material that characterizes even his dramas. It is in the epic that the romanticist can make his confessions and give vent to his individualism. There is only a mere shred of real dramatic action in "Petrarca." It is an epic in five acts.

"Das Auge der Liebe" is a romantic comedy⁹² *par excellence*. A sentimental love story provides the framework. There are two sets of characters, belonging to opposite social types, acting together at times but not bound by any tie of likeness or sympathy. Chance plays a great rôle. The hero is a spirited, generous, whimsical, royal lover, accompanied by a buffoon. There is an abundance of irony. There is the super-

⁹² Cf. Hamelius: *The Theory of the Romantic Comedy*. This summary is given: "The predominance of chance over will, the introduction of cultivated characters and refined feelings, relieved by their opposite extremes. . . . Wonderful occurrences, supernatural spells and magic" (cf. 37-38).

natural element. The Neapolitan Prince discovers his German princess, transformed as she now is into an ugly hag by means of a "little miracle."⁹³ And parallel to the plot of the nobility is that of the peasants, centring around Claudius and Frigida. The comedy is also not entirely without real poetic passages as in the song of Titania over the sleeping Amanda.⁹⁴

Then, the romanticists were nothing if not critics. Immermann's best criticism is seen in his studies of Calderon, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Fichte and Grabbe. He frequently compared Calderon with Shakespeare, yielding the palm to Shakespeare except in the case of "Der standhafte Prinz," which Immermann considered Calderon's greatest work, and greater than anything Shakespeare ever accomplished. "The drama begins," Immermann says,⁹⁵ "where others stop. It is not a question of accompanying a hero through guilt and passion to purity, but of the clarification of a pure man to the point of sanctity. Lessing was correct so far as his knowledge went, when he said that a Christian martyr is undramatic, but he did not know of Calderon's work." After a long and minute discussion, Immermann closes by saying: "Calderon has here shown how a minimum of sin can produce a maximum of sorrow. Fernando's only guilt is a sort of pleasing frivolity; the drama reminds one of the word: God chastens those whom he loves."

But his choicest bit of criticism is on the "Ajax" of Sophocles, a critique⁹⁶ worthy of careful study at any time. His thesis is: since the ancient classical tragedy arose from entirely different beginnings—from the lyric, while the modern tragedy sprang from the epic—and since the ethical, religious and artistic principles of the Greeks were radically opposed to ours, a revival by imitation of the classical tragedy as it has been practiced by Gerstenberg, Goethe, Schiller, Müllner and Grillparzer is neither desirable nor possible.

⁹³ Cf. XIV, 89.

⁹⁴ Cf. XIV, 125.

⁹⁵ Cf. XX, 185-195. Immermann made for the Düsseldorf theatre thorough studies also of *Drei Vergeltungen in Einer*, *Das Leben ein Traum*, *Der Richter von Zalamea*, *Der Wunderthätige Magus*, *Die Tochter der Luft*. For an excellent review of the latter, cf. XIX, 141-157.

⁹⁶ Cf. XVII, 401-454.

Aristophanes⁹⁷ is discussed in connection with Platen who attempted to imitate the inimitable old master. "One can learn," Immermann says, "from Goethe or Shakespeare, Aristophanes is only to be enjoyed. He reflects his own age, an age with which we have nothing in common. He is to be enjoyed not as the strict and stern censor of democracy but as the infallible guide through its labyrinthian ways. The zenith of his poetry is 'Die Vögel.' And just as Beatrice was, so to speak, the conscience of Dante, the glory of Old-England the conscience of Shakespeare, the love of nature that of Goethe, so was political morality that of Aristophanes."

In Fichte⁹⁸ Immermann saw an intellectual symbol of the schismatic chasm between the goal and the endowed gifts through which the goal is to be reached. Immermann looked upon Fichte as a philosophic martyr, a man of stupendous will striving for the unattainable. His speculation leads to an empty temple, devoid of gods. God is portrayed as a spendthrift, love is colorless and life is activity. Fichte's philosophy is a sort of intellectual Brownianism applied to the astheny of the age. His best work, from the standpoint of style and content, is "Die Reden an die deutsche Nation." The only reason why it did not give Germany any trouble at the time is that the French did not understand it! This essay is a *résumé* of philosophy. Immermann goes over the ground from Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, the Stoics, Aristotle, the Scholastics, Occam, Bacon, Hobbes, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Locke, the Encyclopedists, and Kant up to Fichte, and then continues with Pestalozzi, Hegel and Schelling.

Immermann's criticism⁹⁹ of Grabbe, while valuable, grew out of a personal relation, though he claimed never to have looked on Grabbe as a friend. It is the longest of his critiques and is replete with keen dramatic observations. "Herzog Theodor von Gothland" is the tragedy of human nature in general. "Marius und Sulla," the exact opposite of the preceding work, is a picture of the dissolved Roman world, not as facts but as the spirit of history gave it to the poet. "Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung" is a good criticism of

⁹⁷ Cf. XX, 162-172.

⁹⁸ Cf. XVIII, 168-193.

⁹⁹ Cf. XIX, 5-106.

u rthy and weak literary productions, but does not have eno grace and winsomeness to make it poetry. "Don Juan und raust" contains the suggestions without the genius of Mozart and Goethe. "Barbarossa" and "Henry VI." are taken from the history of the Hohenstaufens, and these lie too nearly midway between heaven and earth to admit of dramatic treatment. His best work is "Hundert Tage." He pictures an artificial world, but in such a way that we are forced to enter it and feel at home. His descriptions of battles are the best, thus far, in German literature. In "Hannibal" a great genius falls a prey to the mercenary s of a commercial city. "Aschenbrödel" contains winsome fairy scenes. In "Hermannsschlacht" he attempted patriotic local color.

One of the vagaries of romanticism, as exemplified in the matrimonial meanderings of Karoline Michaelis Boehmer-Schlegel-Schelling, was that the marriage vow is the death blow to love. This was the attitude of Countess Lützow to Immermann, and this is the picture that he has poetized in "Petrarca"¹⁰⁰ and "Merlin."¹⁰¹ Hugo von Sade is the husband of Laura, and thus she deprives herself of the enjoyment of the fruits of Petrarch's grand passion and makes the world to him an empty void. Artus is the consort of Ginevra and by her union with him she is barred from Lanzelot's lofty love and makes the world to him a lifeless sphere.

To the romanticists love was one with religion, or applied religion. They neither believed in nor practiced a first and only love, but in different loves, in progressive love. Love to them was a longing for the unattainable; and therefore one, if not the chief characteristic of their love, was the peril with which its consummation was fraught. They loved a forbidden love. It was a romantic fancy that invented the love potion of "Tristan" and "Cardenio." Immermann has given but one picture of love that knows no defiance of the law: Oswald and Lisbeth.¹⁰² In all the other cases there is some one thing that hinders the union and therefore helps the intensity of the

¹⁰⁰ Cf. XVI, 270-275.

¹⁰¹ Cf. XV, 114-120.

¹⁰² Cf. *Münchhausen*, with special reference to *Oberhof*. That this, however, is a romantic love affair, one would grant without stopping to ask what "romanticism" means.

love: Roland and Zoraide, Oswy and Rosalinde, Petrarch and Laura, Guiscardo and Ghismonda, Cardenio and Olympia, Marcellus and Celinde, Tristan and Isolde, Manfred and Roxelane, and so on.

The motive of gruesome cruelty, a remnant of the prologue to romanticism, "Storm and Stress," received some consideration from Immermann in "Cardenio und Celinde." The most consistent treatment, however, is in "Periander." Periander murders his queen, Melitta. His oldest son, Thrasyll, becomes insane. The younger son, Lykophron, is killed by the Coryrians, among whom he lives in exile. At this Periander takes his own life. Lykophron murders his servant and disbelieves in his sister Melissa. There is not one ray of light in the entire drama.

Immermann was possibly most at one with the romanticists on the question of education. They did not believe in pedantic, didactic book methods. They scorned system in education and worshipped the "natural" method. They did not formulate a pedagogic creed, because they did not believe in an outlined scheme of instruction. Immermann continually recurs to the same idea. He shows unmistakable influence of Rousseau.¹⁰³ Let one reference suffice for all:¹⁰⁴ "The young teacher from Switzerland began Emilia's instruction in a new way. He took her out into the fields, showed her the country round about, excited her curiosity as to the countries that lay beyond, carried her imagination to the ocean and so on, so that she soon had a good knowledge of geography."¹⁰⁴

That Immermann was an artistic nature is proved by his efforts at the Düsseldorf theatre. He worshipped art as the visualization and sublimation of beauty. He spent the last thirteen years of his life in a circle of artists, all of whom dedicated their services in part to romanticism: Schadow, Hildebrandt, K. F. Lessing, K. F. Sohn, J. W. Schirmer, J. Hübner, R. Wiegmann, E. Deger, E. Bendemann, H. Stilke, H. Mücke, C. Köhler. He did not always agree with them; they did not always agree with each other. But it was a ro-

¹⁰³ Cf. Immermann's *Gedanken über Erziehung und Bildung von Oberlehrer Kaiser*. Halle, 1906.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *Der neue Pygmalion*, Vol. VIII, 32.

romantic school.¹⁰⁵ His description of the school is somewhat supercilious;¹⁰⁶ he has patience only with the greatest in art. In religious art he thought that Christ rather than the Madonna should be the main source of inspiration. He praises Deger on this account, but says he eventually went over to the school of Fiesole and began to paint angels and madonnas. In a painting he insisted that some one thing should stand out prominently and all else be subjected to this.¹⁰⁷ On this account he liked sculpture better than painting,¹⁰⁸ since it does not contain so many accessories. He liked much color, claiming that the discovery of color was the greatest discovery ever made in the realm of art. He liked voluptuousness in coloring. On this account he praised Paul Veronese, who showed that Christianity was something else than blood, wounds and nails. For the same reason he did not like Correggio and Guido Reni. The Düsseldorf school never became great because its members never learned that color is to the painter precisely what words are to the poet. With G. E. Lessing he believed in a complete separation of the different arts; poetry entirely by itself, then sculpture and painting well demarcated. The modern German school, starting with Carstens, did not, he said, draw its primitive inspiration from art and nature, not from a deep, dark impulse. It was a matter of adaptation and imitation.

Aside from these, there are a great number of other more or less important romantic themes that Immermann frequently treated. They can be only tabulated here: hatred of Napoleon ("Das Grab auf St. Helena," XI, 319); German patriotism ("Andreas Hofer"); reverence of the past ("Mehr als die Gegenwart ist, wie Ihr wisst, die Vergangenheit meine Göttin," XX, 114); anachronism (Das Caroussel in "Epi-
gonen," VI, 5-102); parody on "Die Braut von Messina" ("Das Auge der Liebe," XIV, 145); poetry as express means of confessing personal views (religious convictions in "Merlin"); masks ("Die Verkleidungen"); impoverished nobility ("Tulifäntchen"); figure of star and flower ("Tulifäntchen,"

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Fellner: *Ges. einer, d. Musterbühne*, pp. 53-67.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. XX, 197 to the end of *Düs. Auf.*, the same work in which Immermann came to a climax from other standpoints.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. VIII, 14.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. P. I, 64.

XII, 23); knightling ("Tulifäntchen"); operatic texts ("Auge der Liebe"); man against machine ("Tulifäntchen"); automaton ("Tulifäntchen," XII, 68-76); knitting bag as the symbol of romantically effeminate men ("Tulifäntchen"); dallying with one's own existence (Johanna in "Epigonen"); doubles ("Die Verkleidungen," XIV, 249); romantic proper names (Flämmchen-Fiammetta in "Epigonen," Balsamine in "Tulifäntchen"); superstition and old customs (Peasant wedding in "Münchhausen"); artist and Philistine contrasted (XI, 75); hostility to teas and other insipid social diversions (a frequent theme: cf. "Petrarca," XVI, 270); effeminate weakness in men (Lykophron in "Periander"); operatic intermezzos in dramas (Das Thal von Ronceval, XVI, 46-50); sharply contrasted characters side by side, not merely different characters (This is Immermann's usual method; of the method Lessing—Hamb. Dram., 86 section,—says: "Kontrastierte Charaktere sind minder natürlich und vermehren den romantischen Anstrich"); Westphalian court of the secret tribunal ("Münchhausen," Book VII, Chapter 9); contempt of life ("Merlin," speech of Lohengrin, XV, 153); versatility (Hermann in "Epigonen"); primitive conditions (The old huntsman's life, father of Emilie in "Pygmalion" VIII, 21); the peasant class ("Oberhof," and highly valued by Im. everywhere); Magi (das Thal von R., XVI, 64); magic (V, 197); Orient (various dramas); Dschinnistan ("Tulifäntchen"); wandering heroes (Hermann in "Epigonen"); magnetic cures ("Epigonen," VII, 139); dreams (Prologue to "Das Thal von R."); ghosts ("Cardenio u. Celinde," "Edwin"); *Schwärmen* (Manfred's speech, "Friedrich II," XVII, 238); the separation of lovers during life and their union, by poetic justice, in death, thus poetizing death and leaving life as the tragic part of "existence" ("Ghismonda"); the blending of art and religion in one picture ("Friedrich II," XVII, 270); the chase (der wilde Jäger in "Oberhof," but one finds some use of the chase in almost all of Immermann's more pretentious works); purposelessness (Hermann in "Epigonen"); direct attacks on enlightenment (I, 8); homage to troubadours ("Petrarka," Act III); unreserved hostility to the literary recensionist

("Recessanten = Idylle," XI, 102-104); the poetization of the lie (the political lie in "Ronceval" and "Hofer," the marriage lie in "Tristan" and "Cardenio," the life lie in "Epigonen" and the artistic lie in "Münchhausen"); the dedication of works to friends ("Edwin" to Goethe, "Merlin" to Schnaase, "Periander" to Kohlrausch and Gessert, "Friedrich II" to Schadow).

CHAPTER IV

ROMANTIC STRUCTURE: (1) POETIC FORM, (2) PROSE FORM, (3) STYLE

Es ist überhaupt ein seltsames Missverständnis, die Poesie einer Nation von ihrer eigenthümlichen Form als etwas ganz Zufälligem trennen zu wollen; beide gehören nothwendig zu einander wie Leib und Seele, und geben eben zusammen erst die Poesie.—Eichendorff.

The German romanticists laid great stress on poetic structure, on form and style.¹ They did not, as is superficially believed,² preach and practice mere formlessness, but variety of form. By form they meant not merely external, grammatical, correct form,³ such as Platen observed, but an inner, a spiritual form of adaptation, such as one finds in Shakespeare or Cervantes. They cherished no special hostility toward any one poetic form:⁴ they simply believed that one form adapted itself to the expression of one feeling, another to another. Just as a chapel and an armory would display different sorts of architectonics, so did they believe that religious and martial moods should be expressed each in its own form. And if, in a given work, various moods followed each other in rapid succession, there would be a corresponding variety of forms. Immermann, though a master capable of

¹ Cf. Novalis *Schriften*, Zweiter Teil, 2, pp. 606-619.

² Cf. Merkel with reference to Tieck's *Genoveva*, Ranftl, pp. 234-235.

³ Cf. XVIII, 160. Immermann quotes Platen's works as an example of correct, grammatical form.

⁴ Cf. The classicists did drive out the Alexandrine, but the romanticists made no attempt to drive out the iambic pentameter. They were not, in this respect, reactionary, but reconciliatory; they wanted all forms to flourish, side by side, provided feelings were to be expressed that demanded this variety. As a metrist, Immermann stood somewhere between Heine and Freiligrath. Heine gave Immermann suggestions on the subject of metrics for *Tulifäntchen*, Immermann gave Freiligrath ideas on the same subject (cf. K. Immermann; *Blätter der Erinnerung an ihn*; hrsg. von Freiligrath, pp. 116-136). Yet Immermann placed Freiligrath above Lenau and Chamisso as a metrist (cf. *ibid.*, p. 130).

st port only in prose, tried some of the most important romantic verse forms. He tried also at times to write a e. To show that he consciously tried to adapt sound to sense and form to facts, an analysis of one of his shallowest dramas,⁵ and his deepest one,⁶ will suffice.⁷

Der gefleckte König dieser Wälder
Rennet tiefer in die grünen Büsche.

The prevailing verse is the unrhymed, trochaic pentameter.⁸ There are a few iambics. Certain questions arise in this connection. Why did Immermann now descend to prose, now rise to verse, and now sing in rhyme? And why did he employ verses of various length? Minor shows⁹ that no verse has such a decisive influence on structure, on general syntax, as the trochaic of four feet.¹⁰ From this he argues that it lends itself well to poetic structure. Granting this, it would seem that Immermann adopted the form with poetic consciousness, since it occurs only in the different songs, and with a noticeably poetic effect. In the opening prelude, among the clouds, Droll speaks in this measure.

Peitscht die Wolken, faule Winde!
Träge Wolken, schliesst geschwinde
Euch zum dunstigen Portal!

It is employed with equally happy effect in the song¹¹ of Titania that treats of love and fancy. But when Droll and the elves wish to ridicule Seybold, they do so in iambics of four feet.¹² And one of the most expressive songs is that

⁵ Cf. *Das Auge der Liebe*.

⁶ Cf. *Merlin*.

⁷ Aside from analyzing these dramas, examples from miscellaneous sources are given of the other important romantic verse forms.

⁸ Cf. Minor: *Neuhochdeutsche Metrik* (1902 ed.), p. 226. The form came from Servian folk songs, and was first used in German by Herder in his folksongs. It is well chosen in this drama of battles, the chase and the flitting of fairies.

⁹ Cf. Minor, p. 226.

¹⁰ Immermann's most important use of trochaics of four feet is in *Tulifäntchen* (1829), a work that inspired Heine to the same form in *Atta Troll* (1842).

¹¹ Cf. XIV, 125f.

¹² Cf. XIV, 166.

of Droll at the close of the prelude, in iambics of two feet.¹³ There are two strophes of ten verses each, with a rigid verse at the beginning and close of each strophe and verses of great freedom intervening.

Then, as to the alternating rhymed verse, unrhymed verse and prose, in each instance, with one possible exception,¹⁴ the shifts are made consciously and purposely.¹⁵ The first striking change from verse to prose is in the dialogue¹⁶ between the Neapolitan Prince and Claudius, his master of hounds. They discuss the disappearance of Amande, and Claudius tries to comfort the Prince. Finally, after a long series of unrhymed trochaics, Claudius begins to philosophize about the omnipresence of love, whereupon the Prince informs him, in prose, that he does not understand him, and begs him to remember his soaring statements until they get home, where, by means of pen and paper, the Prince will assure these lofty sentiments a future life. They then discuss prosaic matters in prose. In other words, as Shelley¹⁷ intimated, they framed their imagination in verse, their reason in prose. The monologues with one exception,¹⁸ are in rhymed verse. The entire last scene, where all the characters of importance occupy the stage, is in rhyme.¹⁹

¹³ Cf. XLIV, 95-96.

¹⁴ The speech of the peasant woman Ursel, who had given shelter to the exiled and disfigured Amande. She speaks in verse, twelve lines. But Tieck also, in *Octavian*, has, at times, not only Hornvilla but unnamed peasants speak in verse, rhymed and unrhymed.

¹⁵ Cf. Deetjen (*Jugenddramen*), who thinks that Immermann employed verse and prose and rhyme arbitrarily (p. 154).

¹⁶ Cf. XIV, 104ff.

¹⁷ Cf. *A Defense of Poetry*.

¹⁸ Cf. XIV, 149. Speech of Thymian. This is not a monologue, in the ordinary sense. Thymian is alone for a while, since it would have spoiled his intrigue with the ring had others been on the stage.

¹⁹ There would be no point in tracing each individual change from one form of speech to another throughout the entire drama. There are, in round numbers, about fifty such shiftings; there are only about seven main forms. That the peasants speak prose, the nobility verse, and that the songs, monologues and concluding lines of speeches are in rhyme is only natural. The questions for solution are these. Why do the nobility at times speak prose? And why do the peasants at times speak verse? Immermann's rhyme calls for no special comment as to its quality. There are a great many impure rhymes: aufzufinden-ergründen. There are

In "Merlin"²⁰ the matter is much more complicated. There are but two brief selections in prose, and there are a variety of verse and strophic forms such as were revived by the romantics. First the verse forms: the prevailing form is the *Knittelvers*.

Warum, du Fürst im finstern Land,
Hast du dich einsamlich verbannt?

In selecting this form, Immermann followed in the footsteps of illustrious predecessors,²¹ and at the same time lightened his own metrical burden. The first use of iambic pentameters is in Satan's threat to Candida (562-563).²² The appropriateness of the form just here is evident, as well as in the return to iambs in the speech of Satan immediately preceding the ruin of Candida (621-632). The next striking form is the trochaic of eight feet,²³ from the Greek, with variations, and familiar through Poe's "Raven." The most happy use of this form, however, is in the speeches of the "Erscheinungen" (1208-1229).

Ach, die Rosen blühten lieblich, und die Nachtigallen sangen,
Liebeselig, still und fröhlich bist du durch den Hain gegangen.

Then follow a series of dactylic-trochaic verses in the dialogue between Klingsor and the dwarf (1288-1319). Then in the dwarf's song (1320-1331) there are rather striking trochaic trimeters. The minstrel sings (1859-1896) in Alexandrines:

Einst hört' in salva terra Perillus süß Getön,
Es klang nicht von der Erde, klang aus des Himmels Höh'n.

A happy adaptation of sound to sense is seen in the verses of Klingsor's instruction to the dwarf concerning the preparation

treble rhymes: Wipfel-Gipfel-Zipfel. Then there are such enjambements as:

Wenn ich sage: Pflicht, so wird es deutlich
noch Zeit und Ortsgelegenheit.

²⁰ The dwarf reads to Klingsor from *Ecclesiastes* (cf. XV., 89), and Kay, when completely nonplussed as to the nature of his errand, gives vent to his despair in prose (cf. XV, 104-105).

²¹ Among others, *Faust*—and *Merlin* owes much to *Faust*—and the Capuchin sermon in *Wallensteins Lager*.

²² The verses refer to the Mync edition.

²³ Lines 667-704.

of Castel Merveil (2535-2548). They are written in dactyls with all the variations that this form allows and invites. Then, Niniana, in the forest of Briogne, sits by the fish-pond and sings in very regular, and musical, trochaics of four feet, in which form Immermann had had valuable experience.²⁴ These are the verse forms. That Immermann attempted to adapt form to content is evident. That he occasionally failed is owing to his lack of talent and not to the fault of the scheme.

Then the strophe forms: the dedication (1-189), the dictation of Merlin to Placidus of the story of the Grail (930-1006), and the speeches of Artus, Gawein, Gareis, Erech, Ginevra and Lancelot (2409-2457) are in the form of the younger Titurell strophe.²⁵ The first strophe, with its reminiscence of Walther v. d. V., runs:

Ich sasz, vom Fels bedachet,
Vertieft in alte Rollen,
Aus denen an mich lachet'
Ein ganzer Himmel alles Rätselvollen.
Ich musste oft sie auf die Seite legen,
Weil gegen Wunsch und Wollen
Ich lesen nicht gekonnt vor Herzensschlägen.

The first instance of romanian strophe is in the seven ottava rimas²⁶ of the Kay scene (1033-1088). The second is in the terzines²⁷ of Lohengrin (3095-3134). To quote one that contains an oft recurring idea in Immermann:

Mich dünkt, die Erd' ist nur ein leerer, trüber,
Baumloser Anger, mit Gebein besät,
Kahl, unabsehlich, unfruchtbar; worüber.
Die schwarze Fahne der Vernichtung weht.

²⁴ The best verses in the entire work are naturally those in which Immermann had had practice; the iambic pentameters, from his previous dramas, and the trochaics. His experiment in doggerel is interesting because of the poem in which it is found primarily a thought poem, pure and simple. It is not primarily a "romantic" verse form, nor are romantic, dramatic poems, thought poems.

²⁵ Cf. Friedrich Kauffmann: *Deut. Metrik*, pp. 80-82. There is given a brief analysis of this form.

²⁶ Cf. Minor, 470, for the enormous role this form played among the Ger. romanticists. Immermann's most consistent use of the form is in *Tristan u. Isolde*. Here are found also his best *terza rimas* (cf. XIII, 249-251). The strophe quoted is, as can be seen by the separate verse, the last strophe.

There are also two songs (1320-1335 and 1549-1581). There are, finally,²⁷ a great variety of strophes of four verses, with varying rhyme schemes, and the Latin hymn, "O sanctissima" (633-638), which found a place in Herder's folksong collection.

Of the romanic strophes not found in "Merlin," Immermann's sonnets must naturally take first place. Of these he wrote, in all, sixty-three. The rhymes are predominately feminine, with different sorts of rhyme schemes. He used the sonnet for many purposes; he sonnetized about the dreams of the poet as well the vagaries of a poodle²⁸ or the vigilance of a policeman.²⁸ Petrarch's letter to Hugo von Sade is in the form of a sonnet.²⁹

These are the most important forms revived by the romantics and the ones Immermann used most consistently and sympathetically. There is an occasional approach to other romanic forms,³⁰ and he sported with the oriental ghazal³¹ and makamen.³¹ In the *terzine*,³² he approved wholly of feminine rhymes, but criticized Michael Beer for not following the Italian custom of having the middle verse of one strophe rhyme with the first and third verses of the next strophe, rather than the reverse. His theory was that one rhyme should announce the coming of two, and not that two should announce the coming of one. In this same letter, he shows how the *terzine* lends itself well to the expression of "majestic, religious or political" ideas. Concerning the ballads in "Merlin,"³³ he explained that "the bizarre, eccentric and unusual can be brought close to the feelings only by a familiar form, hence the cordial, golden ballad tone." He interwove, usually with happy

²⁷ Cf. (1752-1781) the *Tafelrunde* scene, and (2111-2132) the opening strophes between Lancelot and Ginevra, for a strophe form, similar, in some ways, to the younger *Titirel* strophe.

²⁸ Cf. XI, 303 and 302.

²⁹ Cf. XVI, 225.

³⁰ Triolett (XI, 61), Ritornell (XI, 276). But they are not genuine.

³¹ Cf. XI, 289 and X, 68.

³² Cf. *Beers Briefwechsel*, 172-177. Immermann reviews B.'s *Traum des Kaisers*. Immermann looked upon the strophes of the *terzine* as waves following one another. If the figure be apt, B.'s arrangement would seem just, for waves get smaller, not larger, as they flow on.

³³ Cf. Koch edition, p. 95.

effect, in his dramas and epics, the Gassenhauer (XIII, 70-71), the Bänkelsängerlied (XVI, 157), the Singsang (XIII, 97), the Latin Sequence (XI, 146), the German Volkslied (XVII, 383), and the Russian Volkslied (XV, 258). Immermann showed himself most a romanticist, however, by his application, in certain poems, of a great variety of unscanable verse forms and "original" strophe forms.³⁴ Yet he claimed that it was a matter of suiting sound to sense. He said that the chicanery of form compels, of itself, to concise thinking and composing.³⁵

Also, there are passages in which Immermann attempted musical effects by means of assonance and end rhyme, and striking effects by means of alliteration. He admitted,³⁶ however that assonance can play only a small rôle in German, so poor in vowels. He said³⁷ that assonance had been employed in "Tulifäntchen" as an "emblem" not as a "system." His most conspicuous use of assonance, or the assonantal construction is his frequent attempt to portray the gruesome and awful by an abundant use of the dark vowels.³⁷ His application of alliteration resembles caricature. He employed also the echo rhyme,³⁸ so attractive to Tieck. But with it all, Im-

³⁴ Cf. XI, 260, *Gnom und Nachtigall* and XI, 235, *Merlins Grab*.

³⁵ Cf. XV, 170-174. On the forms in *Alexis*.

³⁶ Cf. XII, 6.

³⁷ Cf. Song of the dwarf in *Merlin* (XV, 94), where the rhyme *Thurme-Sturme* is kept up through four strophes. The other rhymes are: *Molch-Lolch*, *Krötenstein-Todtenbein*, *geschaut-bethaut*, *schwirr'n-Hirn*. Or compare in "Periander" Lykophron's remarks on the appropriateness of his "home" by the sea:

Es (das Land) gürtet sich mit schroffem Felsenbollwerk;
Die Wellen laufen Sturm, zerstoßen sich
Die grünen Häupter an den ew'gen Schanzen
Und schäumen zornig, heulen laut vor Schmerz.
Dort auf dem breiten Felsen will ich wohnen
Und wie der tagesscheue Uhu horsten. (XVI, 318.)

³⁸ Cf. *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, Heft XXI, pp. 157-159; the first version of *Friedrich II*, published by Werner Deetjen:

Nie hab ich in engen Schalen
Strahlen
Unsrer Sonne fangen wollen,
Grollen
Kann ich nicht der Welt, wenn brünstigt sie verlangt, dich zu
schauen, Stern der Frauen! (Enzius to Roxelane).

mermann, though he followed in the romantic wake, could not manipulate all those artistic and grace bringing devices that must ever come to the aid of great form lyricist. Petrarch, in "Petrarca," announces in a letter, in the form of a sonnet, that he is going to visit Hugo von Sade. Hugo can not understand certain things in the letter, and Laura explains them in this way:

Der Reim hat Deinen klugen Freund bezwungen.
Der Reim reisst die verständigsten Leutz zu ungereimten
Reden hin.

This describes, and explains, some of Immermann's lyrics. And excepting his trochees, and a few of his iambics, one feels the appropriateness of his own verses:

Horch, die schwerste Sünde ist,
Wenn Du nicht begeistert bist,
Dichten willst,
Papier erfüllst,
Aus dem Kopf ein Reimchen quälst,
Silben zählst
Und, o *pecus*, den Musengaul
Willst brauchen wie den Karrengaul. (XI. 255).

If, in the lyric and drama, the romanticists aimed at variety of form, in the epic they practically admitted the desirability of confusion, or romantic irregularity. This irregularity can be explained if not artistically excused. The lyric treats, subjectively, of the inner world of the poet, and is consequently brief. Experiences of the soul do not last long. The drama treats, objectively, of the world of other men; the hero and his followers struggle against an opposing party. In the drama, logical development, according to the order of things, is necessary, and confusion, if the drama is to be acted, is impossible. But in the prose epic, in the romantic novel, there is given an account of the experiences of the leading character with the world about him. Now if these experiences are told, all in the same form, and in a perfectly regular order from remotest cause to ultimate result, the effect, the romanticists thought, would be monotonous and prosaic. In the second

chapter of "Die sieben Weiber des Blaubart," Tieck says:³⁹ "Nothing is more usual than to begin a story in an odd way. The more confused it is at the beginning, the more interesting. One should not know at first who is going to be the hero." The chapters in "Münchhausen" run: 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, Correspondence of the editor with the book-binder, 1, 2, 3, and so on to the 17th and last chapter of Book I. In this interwoven correspondence, the binder tells⁴⁰ why he did not put the first chapter first: "The first chapter is too tame. Such a beginning would have been allowable in the days of Cervantes, but not now. Now one must begin in some unusual fashion. The more confusion the better." Immermann was here satirizing⁴¹ a romantic custom—he and the romanticists often satirized things they liked—but the "confusion" is just the same. Let an analysis of Immermann's first, shortest, and most romantic novel, "Die Papierfenster" suffice as a picture of romantic epic irregularity.

The novel bears, in broad outline, a striking similarity to "Werther." An extremely sentimental individual, versed in the writings of various poets, takes his life because of his love for a woman who belongs to another. There is an introduction, in which the author looks upon himself as the editor of these pages; the hermit had written down his thoughts on scraps of paper, which he afterwards used to stop up holes in the windows of his forest-cell; the poet, while on a walk, finds them and "publishes" them. There are three main divisions, the first of which contains the central plot. This is composed of letters by Friedrich, one by Ludwig, some observations of the aunt to her friend Klotilde, a post-script by Christiane the second love of Friedrich, fragments of letters, notes from Friedrich's diary, and an explanation from a stranger, in which the "editor" tells of the death of Friedrich and Christiane on the day set for the wedding.

The second part is even more irregular. There are, in the order given, scattered notes, some alphabetic-dramaturgic re-

³⁹ Cf. *Tiecks Schriften*, IX, 95-96.

⁴⁰ Cf. I, 46-47.

⁴¹ Immermann is really satirizing the arrangement of Pückler-Muskau's *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*.

marks jotted down just as they occurred to the hermit and with the wildest sort of confusion, a funeral sermon on a gnat, some observations on the dog's tail, two blank pages to be filled in by the reader and an evensong in rhythmic prose. Part three contains some general reflexions, the drama "Die Verschollene," hymns to renunciation and the night-song of a starving man. Lyrics are scattered throughout the work, there are quotations, in the original, from "Hamlet," as well as discussions of this work and of "Egmont," "Robinson Crusoe," Goethe's "Geschwister," "The Vicar of Wakefield," Augustine's "Confessions," Kotzebue, Aretino's "Sonnets," Dante, Sophocles, Aeschylus, "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" and the Bible, while "Die Wahlverwandtschaften" is paraphrased. Join all this together in a rather short novel, and one gets a picture, if not a caricature, of romantic formlessness.⁴² There are various devices of a similar nature in "Epigonen" and "Münchhausen." But Immermann never again became quite so romantic.

That Tieck and those who came after him attempted to write a piquant, a romantic style, needs no proof. Renewed

⁴² The contention is not made that all novels written by the romanticists display such an utter disregard of the conventionalities as Immermann shows in this novel, written at a time when he was most completely under romantic influence. They simply did not write novels arranged in orderly fashion by chapters as did, say Gustav Freytag. For a discussion of Immermann's general novel technique, cf. *Untersuchungen über Immermann's Romantchnik* by Wilhelm Kaiser, Halle, 1906. This dissertation was followed in 1907 by one that covers practically the same ground: *Goethe's Einfluss auf Immermanns Romane und Novellen*, Marburg, 1907, by Franz Thewissen. Kaiser devotes nearly a half of his study to Immermann's (novel) sources, and concludes that his literary sources were (p. 33): Cervantes, J. G. Müller, Tieck, Jean Paul, Sterne, Swift and Wieland; also Rückert, Le Sage, Reuter, Aristophanes, George Sand and Arnim. The discussion of Immermann's technik amounts to a comparison of Immermann and Goethe, as Kaiser admits (p. 40). He treats Immermann as Rieman (*Goethe's Romantchnik*) treated Goethe. It will be readily seen how the two works overlap: Thewissen devotes, out of 65 pages, 29 to a comparison of the motives in *Epigonen* and *Wilhelm Meister*. And finally, as a defense of this unconventionally irregular sort of novel, Novalis says (Heilborn, I, 319): "Eigentliche, romantische Prosa—höchst abwechselnd, wunderbar, sonderliche Wendungen, rasche Sprünge, durchaus dramatisch. Auch zu kleine Aufsätzen."

exemplification of this phase of romanticism is, however, always deserving of a place in a well rounded picture of the movement. Novalis defined⁴³ the theory of romantic poetry as "the art of surprising in an agreeable manner." Fr. Schlegel said:⁴⁴ "In 'Sternbald,' Tieck's style is romantic; before this he had no style." The romanticists either revived the past, in an archaic style, or prophesied as to the future, in a mystic style. If they treated the present, they attempted to make it very picturesque.⁴⁵ In poetizing the past, they introduced, for the sake of art, not science, old, poetic words and expressions. Immermann did the same in imitation of his romantic models. There occur, among others, the following examples:

der Aar—XVII, 254.	das Diario—III, 149.
die Abbatissin—XVII, 377.	deshalben—XIII, 23.
absonderlich—XVI, 18.	dorten—XII, 13.
der Abbas—XIII, 170.	dräut—XII, 97.
allendlich—XIII, 270.	dunkele—IV, 86.
allsogleich—XVII, 22.	balde—XIII, 66.
allewighlich—XIII, 263.	basz (sehr)—III, 79.
amusiren—XIV, 220.	benebst—I, 64.
annoch—XIII, 140.	der Bronnen—XV, 98.
anjetzo—XIII, 187.	die Büchereie—XIII, 168.
anjetzt—XVII, 167.	der Buhurt—XV, 109.
äsen (aasen)—XIII, 53.	die Botschaft werben—XVI, 45.
alles Ding—XII, 64.	Hatt' er fromm sich bethan in die Klaus—XIII, 71.
daheime—XV, 82.	die Curée (hunting term)— XIII, 65.
von der Damen—XIII, 159.	

⁴³ Cf. *Novalis' Schriften*, II, 167. Quoted by Petrich.

⁴⁴ Cf. Haym, p. 894.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Drei Kapitel vom romantischen Stil*. This is practically the argument adduced by Petrich. That mysticism, archaism and picturesqueness in style will occasionally overlap and always merge gradually one into the other, is to be taken as a matter of fact. The classification adapts itself well to Immermann's case, and is followed strictly. Deetjen (*Litth. Forsch.*, Heft XXI, p. 118) says: Den Stil der Romantiker hat Immermann nie geschrieben. Nach alten Formen, wie sie Tieck liebte, kann man bei Immermann lange suchen. Ein 'anjetzo,' ein 'zween' steht ziemlich einzelt da. Auch die Bevorzugung von Adjektiven auf 'lich' tritt bei Immermann lange nicht so stark hervor, wie bei den Führern der r. Schule." This is not a wholly accurate statement, as this and the following pages will show.

- glücklich Glücke—
 141.
 XVII, 271.
 87.
 er (ne)—XVII, 304.
 entbrannt (entbrinnen)—
 XIII, 110.
 erklimmen (= vor Kälte ver-
 klammten)—XVI, 201.
 erspaziergängern—III, 105.
 erweltfahrern—III, 105.
 entlängst—III, 175.
 erköbern (= erwerben)—XIII,
 211.
 ein fröhlich Völklein—XVI,
 535.
 ein gut Werk—IX, 66.
 etzlich—XVII, 507.
 gebeut (gebietet)—XVII, 261.
 gülden (ü for o very common)
 —XII, 36.
 der Geniess (=Genuss)—XIII,
 82.
 das Gereide (Gerät)—XIII,
 186.
 ein alt Gerüll (Gerölle)—XVI,
 345.
 geschicht (geschieht)—XV, 65.
 gepreist (gepriesen)—XV, 73.
 gespaltet (gespalten)—XV, 116.
 gelahrt—XIII, 167.
 gluthzitternde (glutzitternd;
 postpos.)—XIII, 194.
 geuss (giess)—XVI, 211.
 der Grafe—XIX, 217.
 Gülden (=ca. Zinsen)—III, 74.
 gesetzet—XIII, 52.
 mein geduldig Thier—III, 81.
 jetzunder—XV, 113.
 der Kanker (die Spinne)—XIV,
 146.
 kronenbar (kronenlos)—XVII,
 212.
 ein Kleines (ein wenig)—XII,
 82.
 das Kränzelein—XII, 112.
 keuscher Frauen Minne—XVII,
 311.
 die Königinne—XIII, 24.
 klungen (klangen)—XV, 53.
 kunnt (könnte)—XV, 110.
 die Küchen, XIII, 76.
 der Tgung (Tyrolese)—XVI,
 5.
 Käs- (Kastanien)—XVII, 86.
 ein Kapp (Knappe)—III, 75.
 fleu- (= flieh)—XIV, 94.
 Fröl (=Fräulein)—XIV, 193.
 Die saue—XIII, 24.
 frohn—XIII, 29.
 fleugt (fligt)—XIII, 141.
 der sil'gen Frauen (sing.)—
 X, 56.
 fürnehm (vornehm)—I, 10.
 der Fürste—XIII, 151.
 die Fahr (Gefahr)—XVII, 16.
 Forchten (fürchten)—XIII, 72.
 der Göt (= der Pate)—X, 255.
 Der Herre—XII, 31.
 ein Herze—XIII, 27.
 der Hornung (Februar)—XIII,
 54.
 in Hasten (in grosser Hast)—
 XII, 103.
 der Hochgemuthe—XIII, 120.
 der Henk (Henkel)—XIII, 125.
 hernacher—XIII, 167.
 Hispanien—XVI, 15.
 Historie—XVI, 18.
 hinte Nacht (= heute Nacht;
 cf. *Götts v. B.*, V. 6. It was
 from *G. v. B.* that Tieck

- learned to read. Cf. Petrich
 p. 44)—XVI, 106.
 hochgemuther Recke—XVI,
 129.
 Periander hat 60 Jahre—XVI,
 365.
 hinfüro—XV, 132.
 Hörnelein—XIII, 71.
 Helfenbein—XVII, 86.
 hiebei—IV, 75.
 hierorts—XIII, 67.
 sich hasten—XIII, 189.

 (Forms in -lich)
 schauerlich—XVII, 166.
 kühnlich (very frequently)—
 XVII, 170.
 verwehrlich—XVII, 171.
 traulich—XVII, 179.
 sichtbarlich—XVII, 183.
 spöttlich—XII, 16.
 sächtlich—XII, 30.
 gewaltiglich—XIII, 50.
 genügendlich—XIII, 52.
 wunderbarlich—XIII, 94.
 furchtbarlich—XIII, 102.
 züchtiglich—XIII, 110.
 seltsamlich—XIII, 121.
 einsamlich—XV, 59.
 freudiglich—XV, 135.
 lustiglich—XX, 29.
 sänftlich—XIII, 237.
 emsiglich—XV, 535.
 mächtiglich—XV, 369.
 mildiglich—XIV, 116.
 allergnädlichst—XV, 292.
 lücklich—XV, 141.
 unweigerlich—XV, 315.

 der Leu—XIII, 36.
 ein sonderbar verjährt Lied—
 XVII, 377.

 Leugen (Lügen)—XIII, 165.
 Lunden (London)—XIII, 167.
 lobe (gelobe)—XV, 116.
 Lichter an des Kopfes Wänden
 (Augen)—XIII, 54.

 nie kein (of frequent use)—
 XIII, 197.

 der Othem—XV, 339.
 der Oehm—XIII, 245.

 platscht (plätschert)—XIII,
 100.
 pirschen (generally, birschen)—
 XIII, 52.

 der Ränfter (Remter)—XVII,
 190.
 der Ruch (Geruch)—XIII, 266.
 rufte—XV, 73.
 rück (zurück)—XIII, 247.
 trätiren—XIV, 194.
 thut verdriessen—XIV, 249.
 tyostend—XV, 118.
 Treugen (Trügen)—XIII, 165.
 tödtet (getödtet)—XVI, 207.
 die Templeisen—XV, 112.
 trunken (getrunken)—XV, 113.
 Trutz (Trotz)—XI, 163.
 trübtief—XV, 92.

 urtheln—XIV, 169.
 umfahn—XVI, 270.
 unmustern (=unwohl)—II, 29.
 Urbestes—XIII, 233.
 vonhinnen—VIII, 21.
 verbeut (verbietet)—XVII, 261.
 verloffnen (verlaufenen)—XII,
 31.
 vergleichsam (gleich)—XVI,
 152.

- XVI, 210.
 vu —I, 26.
 v —XV, 128.
 —XIII, 36.
 —XIII, 74.
 I, 181.
 II, 244.
 —XII, 36.
 e—XIII, 127.
)—XIII, 162.
 j—XVI, 15.
 hen)—XVII, 512.
 —XVII, 174.
 —XVII, 261.
 —XII, 41.
 meine (mein)—XIII, 45.
 Magen (relatives)—XIII, 121.
 die Massonei—XIII, 124.
 das Mädelein—XVI, 49.
 Märenschalk—XVI, 152.
 miauzen (miauen)—XVI, 206.
 Märlein—I, 47.
 die Melodei—XIII, 143.
 das Missal (das Messbuch)—
 XIII, 182.
 müd—IV, 74.
 mein theures Lieb—IV, 93.
 des Mai'n—III, 94.
 das Männel—XIII, 199.
 stickt (steckt)—XIV, 154.
 Straussen (Sträusse)—XVII,
 197.
 Schildelein—XII, 69.
 so (as relative, frequently)—
 XII, 88.
 sonst—XII, 103.
 sahe (sah)—XVI, 233.
 die Scheue—XIII, 64.
 Schwertes Leit—XIII, 122.
 singen und sagen—XIII, 139.
 der Sippe—XIII, 167.
 die Schaub (a garment)—XIII,
 157.
 liebesiech—XIII, 29.
 in der Sonnen—XIII, 227.
 sieben Jahre stark—XIII, 52.
 stehn (ruhen)—XIII, 58.
 Scripturen (Schriften)—IX, 15.
 die Sehe (Sicht)—XV, 380.
 sonderer (besonderer)—XV, 79.
 Schnittermaidchen—XIII, 198.
 späte—XI, 341.
 schwaumeln (not in Grimm; =
 heulen)—XIII, 80.
 stahn (stehen)—XVII, 513.
 worden (geworden)—XII, 34.
 Waldgerinnicht—XII, 57.
 waldein—I, 217.
 Wundergift (-Gabe)—XIII,
 206.
 Wafurloga—XVI, 184.
 weshalben—XIII, 23.
 Weiben—III, 80.

The older romanticists believed in the aristocracy of the intellect. They wrote for poets. All of them, W. Schlegel always excepted, were rather fond of vague phrases that give tone to mysticism. This Immermann did not do to any note-

* The list does not claim to be complete. An effort has been made to give the most representative forms, and the ones that occur most frequently. Concerning the forms in -lich, in *Eudoxia* alone (31 pages in length) there are 55 cases.

worthy degree. He first paid homage to mystic thought in the poem "Merlins Grab" (1818).⁴⁷ But the style of this poem is perfectly clear. In "Alexis," however, with special reference to "Eudoxia" (1831),⁴⁸ we have a realistic, rationalistic drama with a mystic background. "Eudoxia" is the epilogue. There are two main scenes; one on the heath, one by the sea. A fatalistic⁴⁹ thread runs through the entire trilogy. Eudoxia is the embodiment of mysticism. Once the proud Tsarina, she is now exiled on the heath, lives in a fallen castle, is blind, spends her time in magic murmurings and prophecies, and marvels at the mysteries of life. The heron, raven, falcon, owl and vulture add weirdness. Catharina thus describes the heath:

Aus dürrer Erdrich keimt empor die Distel hier,
Unheimlich schwingend blass gefärbter Dolden Haupt;
Der Ort ist oede, Siedler sind wohl Fuchs und Wolf.
Da hinten steigen schwere Dämpfe, lagern sich,
Die niedre Sphäre deckend zu des Horizonts,
Wo sind wir? Grell im gelben Licht scheint alt Gemäuer
Zerborsten, fahl, ruinenhaft von jener Höh'.⁵⁰

And throughout the entire drama, one feels as if one were groping in some vast and dark though open region, in a stifling atmosphere, weighed down by heavy thoughts and attended by uneasy companions. In view of the situation to be dramatized, this is as it should be. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the content, the philosophy of "Alexis" is not romantic. It is written in a romantic, that is to say, in a mystic, or better still picturesque style. First, some individual words: Todesrohr (gun), weiland, Reihermütz', Knäs (Ritter), Bojar (Krieger), länderüberlastend, worden (geworden), bildsäulenstarr, second-sight, mich bedünkt, todesheiter, gehorsamt (gehört), sehnlichst, Rahm (Rahmen), Wucherüberfluss, ein Wen'ges (ein wenig), schreckgefesselt, mann-

⁴⁷ Cf. XI, 234-239.

⁴⁸ Cf. XV, 359-392.

⁴⁹ Cf. XV, Peter, p. 371:

"Verkehrte Sterne lenken meinen Fuss und Arm,
Gewaltsamkeiten auszuüben gegen Sinn
Und eigene Neigung."

⁵⁰ Cf. XV, 364.

weiblich, flötenlispelnd, andachtentzückt, segenschwer, einstens, Orlog, Räthsel.

Then, some substantives with their compounds: Zukunftschwangre, sterndurchblitzte Nacht; ewige Notwendigkeit; dienstschweisseingenetzter Stirn; uralte Fürstenzier; weissbeemooster Trümmerbau; angstgenesene Brust; flitterputztbehängtes Kind; graunbeladene Haide; adligfestes Schweigen; unabänderlicher Schluss; des Phantomes Höhle; unsichtbar-geheime Hände; nachtfroststarrer Eisesspiegel; schmerzduchwühlter Leib; schmelzbeblümter Mantel; liebliche Qual; einherstolziernder Tod; süssliches Grinsen; dreiundfünfzigjährig Lüge; morgenbleicher Streifen; salzigfaulichter Geschmack.

And finally, a few phrases: Ihr streng Geschick, bereitet durch Gerechtigkeit. Wahren Fürsten däucht der Purpur schauerlich. Heilsam vergessend-vergessenes Sein, friedbringendes Dunkel ist nah. Fern der unseligen Ding' gramtriefendem Gräuelgemisch. Aufgezehrt, scheidend von dem Dichte hebt sich schon der Flamme letzt Geleucht. And then the final speech of Gordon in which he says that he can as little solve the riddle of the universe as the now disanimated Czar.

But the romanticists used many means other than striking expressions to make their language picturesque. For example: the repetition⁵¹ of a given word for emphasis or motivation ("Verrat" in "D. T. v. Ronceval," "Tod" and "Mord" in "Eudoxia"); the quoting only in part of a well known folksong ("D. T. v. Ronceval," I, 1); the use of the "Tageslied" ("D. T. v. Ronceval," Act IV, beginning of scene 4); no unity of mood, springing from the crassly realistic to the highly phantastic (the chief characteristic of "Das Auge der Liebe"); strengthening an expression by coupling many verbs or nouns together (II, 125: "Das ist ein Getreibe, Gerutsche, Gebrumme, Gepoltre, Gedusele, Gedudele, Geschreite, Gewinsele und Gerumore durch einander"). Frequent repetition of the same word in various forms ("Edwin," XVI, 137: "Ein wilder Mann in allerwildster Wildniss"); use of contrasting

⁵¹ Cf. *Studies in German Romanticism*, by Martin Schütze. Chicago, 1907.

compounds (albern-klug—XIX, 212, lieblich-schrecklich—XIX, 225, süsser Schauder—XVI, 13); fondness for metaphor "Periander," XVI, 351); verbal witticisms⁵² (the derivation of "Kater" from Greek "katháiro," "to clean," because he cleans the house of mice, "Katze" from Greek "Katá," "against," "over," "along" and so on, because she is continually springing about. Cf. I, 87); the use of prologues ("Ronceval," "Merlin"); mottoes at the beginnings of chapters of a novel ("Epigonen").

⁵² That the romanticists favored puns is shown by the way in which their opponents looked upon the "countless witticisms" as a characteristic feature of the Tieck-Schlegel school. (cf. *Justinus Kerner als Romantiker*, Heinzmann, 1908, p. 17). Their prototype was Shakespeare. A common form of pun was the distorting of Latin expressions (cf. *Das Auge der Liebe*, XIV, 131: *Salfe Pfennige* (salva venia). All of Immermann's puns are pretty poor. Are not Shakespeare's too? Is there any point to Shakespeare's pun on "sole" and "soul"?

CHAPTER V

IMMERMANN'S OPPOSITION TO THE ROMANTIC CURRENT: (1) RATIONALISM, (2) REALISM, (3) ANTIROMANTICISM

Wir müssen durch das Romantische, welches der Ausdruck eines objectiv—Giltigen sein sollte, aber nicht ward, weil seine Muster und Themen ganz anderen Zeitlagen angehörten, hindurch in das realistisch-pragmatische Element.—Immermann (1839).

Immermann's nature, both as man and poet, seems to have been made up of two halves, but integral halves, which, when joined, formed a double whole. This fact was often commented on by his contemporaries and regretted by himself.¹ Also, he passed through different stages of poetic temperament, something after the fashion of Tieck in Germany or Gray in England. He never lost an opportunity to deprecate the baneful influence of rationalism on his youthful mind. He began as a rationalist; and he returned to rationalism, for a brief season, several times in the course of his career.

Rationalism may be described as the exact opposite of mysticism. Scientifically written history is rationalistic "literature." The meaning is to be gotten from the lines and not between them. The rationalist poetizes what he sees and can therefore explain. The romanticist poetizes what he hears and symbolizes what he sees. In rationalistic literature, the characters simply think and talk about life and love. A goodly number of Immermann's lyrics belong to this class, as well as four unimportant comedies and, to a large extent, "Alexis."

Immermann's lyrics impress one somewhat as do those of Lessing. Any great lyric is romantic. Marie Ebner-Eschenbach thus describes² the nature of a real lyric:

Es liegt darin ein wenig Klang,
Ein wenig Wohllaut und Gesang
Und eine ganze Seele.

¹ Cf. XVIII, 21–222. *Die Jugend vor fünfundsanzig Jahren.*

² Cf. Theodor Klaiber. *Dichtende Frauen der Gegenwart*, p. 55.

But Immermann's lyrics³ are in no sense whole-souled. When he jests, he is prosaically trivial. When he is serious, it is plainly not a matter of direct response to lyric inspiration but of reason and reflection. And when he coquets with his griefs, he imitates Heine with whom this sorrow-nursing tendency was often simulated, making it third-hand with Immermann. Then there is frequently something wrong with the euphony of his verse. In such a line as "wir glühn, wir lodern, verbrennen," "ver" is an unhappy parallel to the preceding "wir."

"Morgenscherz" is a pastoral comedy of twelve scenes, written in rhymed Alexandrines. There are three characters, Lucidor the shy lover, Rosa the bashful beloved and Lucinde the sly matchmaker. At the suggestion of Lucinde, Philidor masks as a gypsy fortune teller and in this way learns that Rosa loves him. There are romantic conceits such as forgetting one's rôle, masks, gibes at "Die Schuld" and incomplete quotations from "Hamlet." But these are accidental. The entire comedy is made up of inanely sentimental talk about love, such as one finds in Immermann's present models,⁴ Gleim, Gellert and Th. Körner. It plays in May. This gives Lucinde this inspiration:

Es schmilzet die Natur, und alles fließt und thaut,
Und jedes Mädchen wird, will's Gott, zu einer Braut.

"Die Nachbarn,"⁵ a prose comedy of one act, has real charm. Martin and Friedrich live, as sworn enemies, in adjoining houses. Their children, Ehrenfried and Käthchen, fall in love. This leads first to a reconciliation of the parents and then to the revelation of the fact that the fathers are brothers. It is a family piece after the style of Kotzebue and Iffland. The separation and eventual finding of the brothers resembles "Nathan der Weise." There is superficial romanticism in the good German names and the large part played by old documents, but the characters simply talk and reason about idyllic love and human hatred. Then Immermann went over to romantic themes until 1825, when he wrote "Die schelmische

³ Cf. XI, 3-357. The poems are arranged according to the themes they treat.

⁴ Cf. Deetjen, *Jugenddramen*, p. 12.

⁵ Cf. XV, 8-34.

Gräfin," a one act comedy in Alexandrines. It plays in May and sentimentality is the keynote. The Count is making asseverations of undying love, and costly presents, to the rustic Rōse. The Countess learns of this, and gives Rōse comfortable household necessities, so that the Count will suffer no inconvenience when he makes his calls. In this way she leads her husband back from the paths of dalliance, until he pronounces her the crown of all women and an incomparable wife. This tiny comedy shows how a rationalist treats the otherwise romantic theme of free love.

Three years later,* "*Die Schule der Frommen*" was written. This German "*Tartüffe*" is a three act comedy in Alexandrines. It is a thrust at hypocrisy and overgreat piety. Cephise, a young widow, has read the mystic writings of the Tersteegens until she has become so pious that she considers it a sin to love. She has, to be sure, an affection for Kleanth, but he dances. In course of time, a pietist, Kamäleon by name, desiring the widow's money, makes love to her. But Maskarill, Kleanth's servant, who was formerly in the employ of Kamäleon, brings the latter's true character to light. Kleanth then wins Cephise's hand, and Kamäleon becomes again openly the worldling he has always been. This comedy, the last one Immermann wrote, shows a phase of Catholicism, that had just been brought to his attention.

"*Alexis*" is a didactic drama. It teems with practical proverbs: "*Rein Schild ist Nothwehr.*" "*Eile kürzt die Strasse.*" The theme is the execution of Alexis at the direct command of his father. The inner idea is "that the demon of Reason and Enlightenment which has heretofore been so assiduously impelling Peter the Great is at last (in '*Eudoxia*') overcome, when, having been persecuted beyond all measure, nature recoils on her pursuer and strikes down her intrepid

* These two comedies show how Immermann searched for themes. *Die schelmische Gräfin*, with its light, flippant treatment of a single unimportant incident and its list of French words and expressions, follows close after the realistic *Trauerspiel in Tirol*. *Die Schule der Frommen* followed *Kaiser Friedrich*, and is its counterpart, so far as religious expressions are concerned. It is an unromantic theme. Tieck did, to be sure, treat in *Die Verlobung* the same theme, but Tieck was hardly a romanticist in 1823.

foe."⁷ Even here there are a few isolated and unintentional romantic touches such as the love of Alexis for Euphrosine, the wearing of the twig that grows on the grave of the innocently murdered as an amulet, Peter's dream foretelling the murder of Alexis, and the passivity of the latter's character.⁸ But the main themes are all treated rationalistically: The marriage vow is frequently broken, but in each case because one or the other is a wretch. The one case of apparent free-love, Mons and Katharina, is punished by an awful death. Politically the drama teaches that he who is "klagenswerth" is not therefore necessarily "herrschenswerth." Woman is given an inferior place. Alexis is condemned because passages can be found in the Old and New Testament that justify the punishment of filial disobedience. Catholicism is represented in "Die Bojaren" by Archbishop Dosithei, a more than colorless official. In "Das Gericht von St. Petersburg" Bishop Theophanes openly declares that there is but one power, that of the state. And Peter says he wishes to be remembered as the man of high purpose who rose from upper-boatswain to admiral. These are the main ideas that make the first two parts of "Alexis" a rationalistic drama.

In a negative treatment of Immermann as a romanticist, rationalism does not bulk large. Realism does. But this incontrovertible fact must not be lost sight of; rationalism is directly opposed to romanticism; realism may be only the shade in a romantic picture of light and shade. All of the romanticists employed, out of necessity,⁹ realism. A little rationalism may therefore be much more of a refutation than much realism. Kotzebue's "Die deutschen Kleinstädter" (1803) and Sudermann's "Heimat" (1893) are typical examples, respect-

⁷ Cf. XV, 170. Immermann's own explanation.

⁸ The general similarity of the drama to *Wallenstein* is apparent, and Alexis is scarcely any more the real hero than is Max P. in *Die Piccolomini*.

⁹ Cf. Francis Marion Crawford: *The Novel. What it is*, p. 45: "Why must a novel-writer be either a 'realist' or a 'romantist'? And, if the latter, why 'romanticist' any more than 'realisticist'? Why should a good novel not combine romance and reality in just proportion? Both are included in every-day life."

ively, of rationalism and realism. The themes, in very broad outline, are similar; the ambitious daughter of a provincial family goes to the great city, becomes acquainted with its complex life and returns home, after a while, only to find herself wholly out of sympathy with the primitive conditions that there prevail. Kotzebue shows how the people talk and think about life and love; Sudermann shows how they really live and love. In Kotzebue there is no romanticism and but little "poetry." In Sudermann there is much realism and a little romanticism. Immermann is primarily a realist in "Andreas Hofer," "Epigonen" and "Münchhausen." In these works there is much realistic poetry and not a little romanticism.

In German literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, overgreat attention was paid to the royalty and gentry. In the nineteenth century, the commonalty began to come to their own in literature. This gave rise to such healthy realism as we have in, say, Freytag. In the twentieth century, writers have concerned themselves largely with the peasantry. This has aided in bringing about the extreme realism of the last decade. Realism, radical or conservative, owes its origin largely to the progress in science and socialism and the consequent change in the direction of a more intense and rapid manner of living.¹⁰ Immermann's realism¹¹ is that of Young-Germany, with its religious belief in the divine rights of the people.

And his first poetization of this belief is seen in "Andreas Hofer" (1833).¹² The theme is the uprising (1809) of the Tyrolese against the allied forces of France and Bavaria. It is dignified realism, portraying the deep-rooted though inexplicable¹³ love of a simple peasant folk for freedom and protection at the hands of a tried sovereignty, and its tragic hatred

¹⁰ Cf. Anton Schönbach: *Der Realismus*.

¹¹ No attempt is made in this study to distinguish between "naturalism" and "realism," it being difficult to distinguish between yellow and orange by twilight!

¹² Cf. The drama first appeared (1826) as *Das Trauerspiel in Tirol*. The first version is about double the length of the second. And, as happened with all the works that Immermann rewrote, the romantic elements are either weakened or entirely eliminated in the second form.

¹³ Cf. XVI, 541. Hofer's reply to the Vicekönig.

at the idea of subjection to a new and untried one. The first two and last two acts consist of alternating pictures of the crude honesty of the peasant and the wily diplomacy of the prince. Act three,¹⁴ in prose, takes place between the Chancellor, Metternich in everything but name, and the Councillor of the Legation. Hofer is Immermann's first great realist. There is no symbolism in his portrayal. When chosen leader of the insurgents, there is no national sword with which to give legality to his authority. So he takes a Bavarian sword that chances to be near by. Why not? "Der Stahl ist todt; der Wille macht lebendig."¹⁵ This could be set up as the motto of him and his party. That of his opponent, the Duke of Danzig, would then be: "Der Marschallstab macht mündig."¹⁶

Every action in the drama takes place at some definite point: Innsbruck, Sterzing, Klagefurt, Pusterthal, Znaim, Rinn, Hall, Villach, Schönbrunn, Wien, Passeyer, on the Isel. Every character, even every peasant, is given a distinct personality. Hofer, the Sandwirth of Passeyer, would rather lose his right hand than use it in signing a treaty that would disgrace Tyrol. Etschmann is the inn-keeper at whose hostelry the profane horse-dealer, Speckbacher, insists upon being shown the same courtesies that are accorded the French generals. Father Haspinger's beard is so red that he forms an easy mark for the enemy. Elsi, Etschmann's wife, describes the gypsies as "garstige, schlimme Leute, wohnen in Gräften, halten keinen Sonntag, gehn nicht zur Messe." And this at a time when she is carrying her child from plundered Tyrol to Hungary or Graubünden! And Frau Straubing is an honest Mutter Wolff.¹⁷ She jokes with Hofer about his shaggy beard and his military appointment. She has come to him at the risk of her life on a double errand: to collect some money for some horses she sold him and to bring him a new recruit, Heinrich Stoss, her future son-in-law. She is anxious that Heinrich become a soldier in the noble cause rather than spend all his

¹⁴ Cf. XVI, 520-526. Metternich is portrayed as an old man, tired of the poetry of youth. With the Tyrolese he will have nothing to do; to defend their cause, just though it may be, would involve Austria in a war with France.

¹⁵ Cf. XVI, 498. ¹⁶ Cf. XVI, 502. ¹⁷ Cf. Hauptmann's *Der Biberpels*.

time with Bärbelchen. When she leaves she refuses protection; she has her two strong arms and a club, and where she strikes, the grass does not grow. This is the sort of characters that Immermann now began to portray. The drama poetizes the righteous struggle of a plain people for their real rights.¹⁸ Young-Germany believed in the poetry of this kind of folk. The Tyrolese were neither mystics nor dreamers; neither "reactionaries" nor ironists. They did not know about the past;¹⁹ they did not concern themselves about the future so long as the present granted them their simple claims. They made a romantic struggle for precious realities.²⁰

In "Epigonen," we have a double picture of realism. The book is composed of romanticism and realism.²¹ The abnormality of the former prevents, forever, the normality of the latter. This culture-novel portrays, approximately, the social condition of Germany from the War of Liberation of 1813 to the Revolution of 1830.²² The scene is in Westphalia. There is a depiction of epigonian romanticism and unripe realism. The former is openly condemned, the latter seri-

¹⁸ Cf. Bettina v. Arnim's *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*, Fränkel ed., Vol. 2, pp. 19-108. Bettina is most enthusiastic in her letters to Goethe concerning the justice of the cause. She writes (p. 20): "Ach hätt ich ein Wämslein, Hosen und Hut, ich lief hinüber zu den gradnasigen, gradherzigen Tyrolern und liess ihre schöne, grüne Standarte im Winde klatschen."

¹⁹ Cf. XVI, 486. The Duke asks Speckbacher whether the people read *Guillaume Tell*. He replies that they read only the calendar. In another place (p. 535), the Vicekönig asks Hofer whether he has read in the news paper that peace has been declared. This is Immermann's first use of the modern paper, one of the first anywhere in the German drama.

²⁰ It is typical of Immermann that he should have selected this theme for his first realistic drama. As to the importance of the movement in Tyrol, cf. the ponderous work of Josef Hirn, *Die Erhebung Tirols im Jahre 1809*, of 875 quarto pages.

²¹ *Epigonen* contains many romantic devices, with which, however, Immermann is plainly out of sympathy; on the other hand, the fact that he antagonizes the industrialism of the epoch—that of the factory rather than that of the farm—does not militate against the classification of the work as predominantly realistic. The majority of realists attack the conditions they portray.

²² Cf. V, iii. Immermann here declares the work to be a compendium of what he had to say on the "Doppelnatur unserer Zustände, die Zweideutigkeit aller gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse."

ously regretted. The prevailing tone is pessimism.²³ There is presented a struggle between two aristocracies: that of birth and that of money.²⁴ The victory, in so far as there is one,²⁵ goes to a third party. The battle is between feudalism and industrialism. The novel itself is a transition novel,²⁶ just as Hermann feels himself to be a transition character. He strives to become a modern realist but his ambition is stifled by out-of-date romanticism. He would like to do something, but he sees no encouragement to a man of stern purposes.²⁷ It must suffice to tabulate the chief realistic²⁸ characteristics that the epoch created, and that the novel portrays.

Minute description of concrete things and everyday situations plays, for the first time in Immermann, a determinative rôle. Heretofore he had described psychic states. Now he portrays real situations and the resultant influence is left to the imagination. When he wishes to emphasize the gruesome horrors that tortured the soul of Hermann (V, 96) after his incestuous night with Johanna-Flämmchen, he simply says he will imitate the artist who drew the veil over Agamemnon's face at the sacrifice of Iphigenia. The feeling of Hermann

²³ It is largely a novel of the nobility. Of this class Hermann (Immermann) says (v. 145): "Der Adel ist eine Ruine."

²⁴ Hermann's uncle represents the aristocracy of money, the Herzog that of birth.

²⁵ Can Hermann be called a 'victorious' hero? Does he act as a reconciliatory spirit between two contending parties and eventually win the victory over himself to the extent that he knows, at the end of the novel, his mission in life and earnestly sets out to fulfill it? Putlitz (II, 138) answers the question in the affirmative, Heinrich Keiter (*Theorie des Romans*, p. 60) in the negative. The truth lies about midway between: Hermann is a developed but ineffective character at the close of the novel.

²⁶ It stands between the novels, of similar purpose, of Goethe, Fr. Schlegel, Tieck, Dorothea Schlegel, Novalis, Brentano and Eichendorff on the one hand, and those of Freytag, Meissner, Keller and Spielhagen on the other.

²⁷ Cf. V, p. 7. The Philhellene tries to persuade Hermann to leave Germany. Hermann replies: "Traurig für mich, wenn ich in Deutschland etwas wollte. Aber eben, weil ich nichts mehr will, tauge ich auch nirgend mehr hin als nach Deutschland."

²⁸ For the romanticism in *Epigonen*, cf. *Goethe's Einfluss auf Immermann's Romane und Novellen*, Thewissen, 44ff. The author lists the great majority of romantic touches found in the novel; i. e., he points out those things in both novels that are romantic, with, naturally, no intention of drawing a picture of romanticism in either.

can not be described, but only imagined. He does set forth at length the clothing and appearance of the millionaire uncle (V, 66-68) and of all the leading characters; the political condition of Germany from 1820 to 1830 (V, 123-125); the methods of the Gymnasien, Realschulen and Universities (V, 186-190); the merry-go-round and the people who visit it (VI, 5-102), the more detailed features of which he claims to be unable to describe (64); the arrangement of the factories of his uncle where the "sense of beauty is lost entirely" (VII, 18-22); Flämmchen's dancing (VII, 61), to which so much attention is given as contrasted with any satisfactory portrayals of her feelings; the Canon's library, next to the kitchen (VII, 82); the room in which he wrote "Epigonen" (VII, 99-100); the nature of "Epigonen" (VII, 103-106); the reading public (VII, 114-115); woman's suffrage (VII, 125-128); the condition of the workmen in the factories of his uncle (VII, 18-22); nervous sickness (VII, 164); science (VII, 158-160); socialism (VI, 103-135); and other realities.

The work in its entirety shows how real people live and love. Here are portrayed the domestic life, the vocation and the avocation of nineteenth century Germans. There is the uncle with his factory and his plants—a realistic attitude toward nature. There is every variety of love from the illegally frivolous that begot Hermann and Johanna to the almost prosaic affection of the Duke for the Duchess. There is the uncanny love of Flämmchen and the healthy love of the hero and heroine. Hermann is really loved by all the women: Franziska, Johanna, Flämmchen, the Duchess and Cornelia. And when romantic themes are discussed, it is from the realistic standpoint. Catholicism (V, 160-166) is represented by the Duke and the Duchess, who no longer belong to this generation, and preached by a neophyte, who has been won over by seeing, in Rome, a wonderful crucifix encased within a wretched wooden one. This he takes to be symbolic of the Church: abused and misused without, glorious and powerful within. Then there is the ever recurring theme of the cemetery and the grave. But here it is a costly mausoleum, erected by modern machinery (VII, 180-226).

In "Münchhausen"²⁹ also we have a double picture of realism. In the satiric part, those unrealities and misconceived realities that encumbered German life and literature from 1830 to 1840 are parodically paraphrased.³⁰ In "Oberhof," realities are poetized. In the former the lie is flagellated, in the latter truth is glorified.³¹ The scene is again in Westphalia.³² The prevailing tone is optimism. The struggle is between aristocracy and democracy, the victory going to the latter. The partly unbalanced Baron, the sentimental Emerentia and the visionary Münchhausen give way³³ to the sturdy Hofschulze, the normal, healthy Lisbeth and the honest Oswald. In the former, Immermann attacks books that do not deal with real life; in the latter, he portrays real life remote from books. The complete "Münchhausen" is Immermann's most modern work. The satiric-humorous part³⁴ resembles a modern college year-book of quibs and grinds on everybody and everything within college circles. Immermann satirizes most keenly Raupach's prolificness, Görres' mysticism, Hegel's absolutism and Justinus Kerner's seership.³⁵

²⁹ *Münchhausen* bears somewhat the same relation to *Epigonen* that *Wanderjahre* bears to *Lehrjahre*. This is true not only in the themes treated but also in the genesis and purpose of these works. In *Lehrjahre* there is a definite plan, in *Wanderjahre* a number of incidents are given a semblance of coherency by their general relation to a common hero. Immermann likewise had a fixed plan in *Epigonen*, whereas he did not know at the beginning how *Münchhausen* would end. He compared his situation to that of Mozart, who changed, in the making, the character of Sarastro (cf. P. II, 257). Or *Epigonen* bears about the same relation to *Münchhausen* that the First Part of *Faust* bears to the Second.

³⁰ Cf. Heinrich von Treitschke: *Deut. Ges. im 19ten Jahrh.*, Vol. 4, which treats of the same period.

³¹ Cf. *Euphorion*, Bd. 3, pp. 265-335: *Wahrheit und Lüge auf dem Theater und in der Literatur*, by Jacob Minor.

³² It is a novel of peasant life. The Diaconus says: "Der Bauernstand ist der Granit der bürgerlichen Gemeinschaft." Or compare the closing paragraph of the entire work.

³³ Cf. Chap. XIII of Bk. VI. There appears this heading: "Der einzige praktische Charakter dieses Buches erreicht seinen Zweck."

³⁴ It is customary to think of *Oberhof* as composing books II, V, VII and VIII. There is, however, no really good reason for excluding book VI from the work.

³⁵ Aside from these, more than half a hundred writers, ancient and especially modern, Greek, English, Dutch, French, Spanish and especially German receive some sort of gibe. Immermann makes a more or less

the modernness and realism of the themes that make realistic. The most important of these are railroads, the corruption of German by the introduction of foreign words, the things for which each of the great moderns stands (I, 17), the amassing of great private fortunes in the case of the Rothschilds and its effect on society (I, 18), leprosy (I, 44), modern magazines and newspapers (I, 45), philology and phonetics (I, 72-80), stocks and bonds (I, 46), proverbial distrust in contemporaneous literature (I, 47), eugenics (I, 48), the technique of truth telling (I, 49), the new religion (I, 50-51, 196-197) and various remarks on modern customs, habits, traveling and science and the new methods of thinking in science. And after a discussion of these and similar themes the satiric part of "Münchhausen" closes with a statement by the hero: "Verdampfen, 'verduften,' 'verschwinden.' Ihr seht mich nicht wieder." And we go over to "Der Dorfmann," the first village-story in German literature, one of the greatest of its kind, and Immermann's most enduring work.³⁶

The eternal value of "Oberhof" lends weight to the somewhat strait-laced thesis³⁷ that the novelist should not begin to produce before passing his eighth lustrum. Heretofore Immermann had tried deep, broad and pretentious themes. Now, after a rich experience in the school of disappointment,

serious, satiric thrust at all alike. He criticizes Jung Deutschland in just about the same spirit that he criticizes Wolfgang Menzel. Add to this the long list of similar novels that various editors quote as Immermann's literary models—those of Tieck, Swift, Wieland and Cervantes in particular, as well as those of Le Sage, Christian Reuter, Lichtenberg, J. G. Müller, Grimmelshausen and others—and it is at once clear that the satiric part is a sort of year-book in which a poet of extremely wide reading playfully jests with the literary phenomena of his day. The redeeming feature of it all is the optimistic spirit in which the whole is viewed.

³⁶ Cf. Heinrich Treitschke: Vol. IV, *Das junge Deutschland*, 407-497. Treitschke passes in review the social and literary phenomena from the beginning of Heine's residence in Paris to the appearance (1840) of D. F. Strauss' second work, *Die christliche Glaubenslehre*. Treitschke himself says (p. 450): "Immermann bleibt der Ruhm, dass er in seinen beiden Romanen seinem Zeitalter den Spiegel vorhielt, wie vordem Goethe in Wilhelm Meister und Freytog in *Soll und Haben*. Nur wer diese Zeitromane kennt, versteht den inneren Zusammenhang der drei Epochen unserer neuesten Geschichte."

³⁷ Cf. Keiter-Kellen: *Theorie des Romans*, p. 166.

he meets with unquestioned success in the poetization of the predominant characteristics of the plain people. The characters are types known by their business rather than by given names.³⁸ The things they do are done as the result of customs and traditions³⁹ that date back to the days of Varus and Arminius and yet are in vogue in 1837, for the peasantry is immortal.⁴⁰ The men and women here passed in review represent none of that reactionary longing or visionary mysticism that characterize romantic heroes. They are contented. The past, present and future to them are one; for they live as did their remote ancestors, and posterity will cherish their traditions. They believe only in realities,⁴¹ and of these they have an abundance. There is, to be sure, a phantastic, a romantic vein in Oswald; but Oswald and Lisbeth simply represent the poetry of the work. They are the two characters that show that Immermann's long subserviency to romanticism stood him, after all, in good stead. Many echoes of former poetic connections resound throughout "Oberhof," and one of these is Oswald, the wild huntsman, and Lisbeth, the blond foundling, and their relation to one another. The idyl shows how these and those that centre around them live and love.

Immermann is here, for the first time, largely objective. He stands in silence behind his characters while they talk and act.⁴² Realism is necessarily objective.⁴³ The realism of this

³⁸ Of the twenty-five speaking characters, a few are given names, but known by nick-names or by their vocation: der Hofschulze, der Diaconus, der Spielmann, der Küster and so on. Even Oswald Waldburg-Bergheim is known as der wilde Jäger, and Elisabeth Emerentia Münchhausen is simply Lisbeth or der Findling.

³⁹ To cite all the instances of things that happen according to "hergebrachter Sitte" would be to tell the whole story. For examples, let suffice: I, 126, 140, 180ff.; III, 20, 23, 37, 38; IV, 58, 117.

⁴⁰ Cf. I, 189: Oswald says: "Die Idee des unsterblichen Volkes wehte mir im Rauschen dieser Eichen, u. s. w."

⁴¹ Cf. IV, 118: Hofschulze says: "Jeder ordentliche Mensch kommt schon durch, der auf Wind und Wetter achtet und auf seine Füße schaut und in seine Hände und sich mit seinen Nachbarn getreulich zusammenhält."

⁴² Cf. I, 140-144: Immermann has just given a masterly description of the Oberhof and begins to interpret, so to speak, the feelings awakened by such a sight. Then he says: "Doch das klingt für diese Arabeskengeschichte zu ernsthaft. Sehen wir uns lieber im Oberhofe selbst um!"

⁴³ Cf. Keiter-Kellen, *Theorie des Romans*, p. 152.

story is largely external. We get a picture of the Oberhof and those who live on it; of their activities, amusements and customs, not of their really private or inner life. The Diaconus says⁴⁴ that the peasant has no time to develop his soul (*Gemüth*), he has too much work to do. The list of characters shows that Immermann intended to give a complete picture of peasant life. He portrays, accordingly, not only the Hofschulze and his servants, but also the preacher, sexton, school-teacher, physician, inn-keeper, stock-dealer, sheriff, judge, veterans of various wars, the organ-grinder, the collector of antiques, for the peasant also has his specialists, the jester and a sprinkling of the aristocracy. We see the peasant from all viewpoints: at work (I, 123-129), at church (III, 32-45), at his meals (I, 180-189), at weddings (III, 45-53), as a murderer (IV, 26-38) and as a judge (IV, 58-66). And especially do we see him in his relation to the various domestic animals of the farm.⁴⁵ The life of a peasant is largely spent with these, and a picture of peasant life would be incomplete without them.

"Oberhof" consists of two⁴⁶ pictures; the life of the peasants and the love of Oswald and Lisbeth. The former gives a realistic background to the latter, the latter a breath of poetry to the former. The two are artistically interwoven without being germinally connected.⁴⁷ Chance brings the lovers to the

⁴⁴ Cf. III, 59.

⁴⁵ The Hofschulze says (I, 175): "Das Vieh hat Alles besser als die Menschen-creatur; es findet den Weg sicherer, es hat sein ihm gewiesenes Futter und lüstert nicht nach anderem; es trägt seinen Rock angeschaffen auf seinem Leibe, es fürchtet sich nicht vor dem Tode," u. s. w. A splendid picture is given of the chickens and turkeys as they look askew at the great kettles in which their comrades are being cooked for the wedding-feasts (III, 10). The cows are specially trimmed for the wedding festivities, and this was a troublesome bit of work (III, 10) "denn manche Kuh und dieses und jenes Rind wollte schlechterdings nichts vom Feste wissen." There is an interesting similarity between Immermann's golden-horned cows and the *golihyrndar kýr* of the *Thrymskvitha*. Cf. Gering's (1904) edition, p. 151.

⁴⁶ The satiric part of *Münchhausen* also consists of two rather sharply differentiated pictures: the satire on modern literature and the actual escapades of Münchhausen.

⁴⁷ The element of love is almost completely eliminated from the peasant part of *Oberhof*. The Hofschulze's daughter is married, but we hear absolutely nothing of the courtship.

Oberhof; she comes to collect the rent for the Baron, her foster father, he to find Münchhausen, her natural father. They meet under what must be termed "romantic" circumstances⁴⁸ and love with a love that blinds the participants but is perfectly clear to the spectator.⁴⁹ The episode bears a striking similarity to "Hermann und Dorothea" on the one hand and "Freischütz" on the other.⁵⁰ But while the former is naïve and classic and the latter wild and romantic, "Oberhof" is realistic. There is not a thread of the supernatural about it all. It is without the suicidal sentimentality of "Werther," the magic potion of "Tristan," the morbid longing of "Phantastus" and the visionary mysticism of "Ofterdingen." Real people in real life show their mutual love by actions rather than words.⁵¹ Nor do they rationalize⁵² about love. It is not a love story copied from books. The digressive Waldmärchen⁵³ shows this. Nor is there anything unnatural about the affair. There are some discrepancies in social standing, which, though real, are removed by the natural growth of love. Interested friends have the physician pass on the hygiene and the lawyer on the legality of the union, but their decisions are returned as not available. The realism of this love lies in its intenseness, blindness and naturalness.

Immermann was poetically honest and true to himself. He pronounced no shimmering paradoxes concerning his genius

⁴⁸ Cf. Chapters XI and XIII, Book II.

⁴⁹ Cf. IV, 49. When Oswald thinks he will have to renounce Lisbeth because of her birth, Immermann digresses to the point of saying: Liebe ist so feige, dass sie vor ihrem eigenen Schatten erschrickt; Liebe ist blind in der Wahl, noch blinder in der Qual."

⁵⁰ For the first time literary allusions are reduced to a minimum. One however is significant, namely *Freischütz* (IV, 127). Whether Immermann was actually influenced by Kind's libretto it is difficult to say. There is a striking similarity in some of the themes. It amounts to a romantic and a realistic treatment of the same incidents.

⁵¹ Cf. III, 61. The two are walking through the forest. "Zuweilen flüsterte sie: 'O Du!' Aber weiter sagte sie nichts."

⁵² Cf. IV, 92. The Diaconus expatiates on the philosophy of love to Baroness Clelia, of course from the standpoint of Oswald and Lisbeth.

⁵³ Cf. III, 74-96. The knight is made happy by seeing the world and people and leads home his bride; the scholar comes to grief through his insatiable thirst for knowledge.

and its fruits. It was difficult, for instance, for Friedrich Schlegel to give clear, poetic expression to the many thoughts that his receptive, agile brain harbored; so he literally paid homage to unintelligibility.⁵⁴ Immermann's writings are, in a few respects, directly antiromantic. This antiromanticism, however, was not of the sort paraded by an enemy of the movement like Garlieb Merkel,⁵⁵ but was born of an irreparable inability to appreciate the romantic viewpoint.

His first appearance in print was a sharp attack against the Teutonia Burschenschaft at Halle. His conduct in the matter was described by Fouqué as being "ungentlemanly."⁵⁶ Immermann attacked here an institution dear to the heart of a man like Eichendorff⁵⁸ and at first gratefully acknowledged and then⁵⁹ ungratefully disowned by a man like Heine. His action was only the forerunner of that second antiromantic trait that was to accompany him throughout life and find frequent expression in his works; namely, his firm determination not to neglect those who are not poets and whom poets are to make free. The very nature of some of his works shows that he was not inclined to shirk the call to duty. Reference is not made here to the fact that he was an industrious, conscientious lawyer and judge, nor even solely to the fact that he frequently poetized practical experience, but rather to the fact that some of his most important works—"Memorabilien," "Epigonen," "Münchhausen"—are of such a content and written in such a style that they can serve and have served those who are not poets as a guide to better things.⁶⁰ What could such works as "Octavianus," "Ofterdingen" and Novalis' lyrics mean to those who are not poets? They were

⁵⁴ Cf. Minor: Fr. Schlegel, Bd. II, *Über die Unverständlichkeit* and Joachim: *Die Weltanschauung der Romantik*, 28-30.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Garlieb Merkel über Deutschland zur Schiller-Goethe-Zeit (1797-1806)*, von Julius Eckardt.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Akademische Monatshefte*, from January 1, 1902, to February 1, 1903. The entire affair is treated at great length under the title: *Karl Immermann's Studentenjahre und sein Konflikt mit der Hallenser Teutonia* von Lic. th. Fried. Michael Schiele, Franconiae Tübingen.

⁵⁷ Cf. P. I, 48.

⁵⁸ D. N. L., 146, II, 2, *Universitätsleben* von Eichendorff, 56-60.

⁵⁹ Cf. Elster-Heine, I, 14-15, VII, 94ff.

⁶⁰ Cf. Wernae: *German Romanticism*, 321-331.

written for poets. And it is this celestial content and archaic, picturesque and mystic style that Immermann occasionally attacked.

He classed somnambulism⁶¹ with the impostures of Cagliostro (I, 8-9). He satirized as absurd the theory of the Düsseldorf school of "pious painters" according to which they saw in dreams and visions the objects they wished to paint and were thereby enabled to strike the exact resemblance (I, 39-49). In the "Fragment einer Bildungsgeschichte" he arraigned a bigoted nature-worship, overzealous enthusiasm, the phantastic, miraculous and visionary⁶² (II, 59-110). He attacked Catholicism on the ground that it breeds superstition in the minds of the uneducated (V, 38-166). He allows the physician to remove the evil effects of an overwrought imagination by medical charlatanry (V, 80-90). A young girl has had her mind seriously perverted and in her secret possession are found Hoffmann's "Teufelselixire," "Der goldene Topf," "Rasmus Spikher" and others. He has Münchhausen tell of a period in his life when he became an aimless wanderer who traveled from country to country in order to become an interesting person. From his extensive travels he learns that Spain is noted for its wine, Italy for song, England for the Constitution, Russia for leather, France for the Revolution and Germany for servants. And the entire picture of unhealthy and abnormal circumstances in "Byzantinische Händel" centres around an attempt to revive an old form of art.⁶³

⁶¹ This was in 1839. Ten years earlier, in *Der Car. u. die Somnambule*, Immermann gave a picture of somnambulism, which, if not wholly sympathetic, shows that he was interested.

⁶² Immermann frequently attacked romantic exaltation. In *Das Auge der Liebe* (XIV, 163) the Prince is told by his father, the King of Naples, that he is a visionary; the Prince replies: "Keine Schwärmereien! Mir ist nichts verhasster als ein Schwärmer; Glaubt, ich bin ein derber Sohn der Erbe." The remark has been applied to Immermann himself (Cf. Deetjen, *Jugenddramen*, p. 153). The application is correct, for Immermann, just like the Prince, hated Schwärmerei, yet he indulged in it at times, as does the Prince.

⁶³ A foreign art-poet is traveling through the country and Madame Meyer has him lecture before her club on Byzantine art. He speaks in *terras rimas*. After the lecture has lasted for hours, we are informed that "I Höllenstrafen sind ewig; jede Vorlesung aber hört denn doch endlich (VII, 52).

In "Münchhausen" he satirized the interpolation of diaries (II, 16-25) and *ich*-episodes (II, 59-110). Of verse forms he lampooned the ghasel (XI, 289, 332; XVII, 471-472; II, 66) and the makamen (X, 69-71). But it was the employment of many verse forms,⁶⁴ resulting in a "chaotisches Felsgeklüft massloser Metren" (XI, 316) to which he could not give his approval and up to which his genius did not reach.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Cf. II, 66; M. has just composed a sixteen verse makamen. He says: "Damit war meine Begeisterung noch nicht erschöpft. Formen und Verse, Weisen und Reime, Laiche, Stollen, Stanzen, Assonanzen, Dissonanzen, Decimen, Canzonen, Terzinen, Handwerksburschenlieder, Sprichwörtliches, Africanisches, Madecassisches, an Personen, Gelegenheit, Denk- und Sendblätter, Runenstabe, Gepanzertes und Geharnischtes, Blätter und Blüten, Schutt—Alles dieses und noch unendlich viel mehr entquoll meinem unermüdet vom Wasser bewegten Lippen, so dass ich glaube ich habe an jenem Abende in wenigstens sechs Dutzenden der verschiedensten Arten und Weisen meine Kindlichkeit lyrisch ausgesprochen."

⁶⁵ Cf. A. letter to Abeken, discussing Calderon's *Der Richter von Zalamea*, published by Werner Deetjen in *Hannoverland*, Nov. 1909: Ich habe das Heft über die Metrik studiert, leider aber nicht überall verstanden, wie es mir denn überhaupt schwer wird, die metrischen Gesetze zu fassen und zu behalten, und ich, danach zu urteilen, nur geringen Ruf zum Dichter haben kann." The letter was written in August, 1823.

CONCLUSION

Immermann was possessed of an overweening desire and an overbalancing inability to be a great poet. He was not a genius. Real genius never so misinterprets its mission as did he. He either did not know where his real strength lay, or he saw virtue in following the most difficult course. He tried twenty times to produce an actable, applausable drama, without once succeeding to any marked degree. He wrote about three hundred poems and only about two out of each hundred have a genuine lyric ring. He wrote two short stories that are rather readable. He wrote three novels that grade from good to better and on to best. And he did some first-rate criticism. With all his interest in history, he never tried a historical novel. Judging from the value of his culture novels, there is reason to believe that he could have shone in this field. And judging from the value of his criticism, there is reason to believe that he could have become illustrious in this field. But he preferred to seek his fortune elsewhere. He tried too many kinds of literature, read too much and lived too little ever to become markedly successful as a poet. His works have been more popular with critics than with readers. Yet he was sincere. As a poet, he was gifted, from the standpoint of creative fancy and imaginative finesse, about as was Lessing. And like Lessing's young Templar, he is worthy of respectful consideration because of the latent, undeveloped good there was in him.

The years of his poetic activity extend over a rather unhappy period in the history of German literature. Schiller is no longer living, Goethe is largely concerned with retouching old ideas, Kleist, unable to endure the political humiliation of the epoch, has taken his own life and his works are not being recognized, Grillparzer is contemporaneous, Hebbel and Ludwig are young, romanticism is in its dotage, and Iffland, Kotzebue and Raupach have usurped and monopolized the stage. This is the condition that confronted Immermann,

when, with more poetic will than genius, he set out eager to win the applause of the stage. And yet, with a romantic superciliousness, he turned away from Schiller and to Goethe and became an adopted citizen of that tried though transient republic of letters, the "Romantic School."

His life falls into six periods. Born at Magdeburg, of Protestant, Prussian bureaucracy, the first seventeen years (1796-1813) were spent in intensely rationalistic surroundings. The next four at Halle (1813-1817) were spent in equally romantic surroundings. The following two years (1817-1819) at Magdeburg were of an uneventful nature, except that he here experienced the "wonder of wonders, first love" (XI, 5). There are a few poems that reveal the incipient romanticist, such as "Sehnsucht" (XI, 58). From 1819 to 1824, he is in Münster, an old Catholic, medieval town, with all sorts of reminiscences that were calculated to make a poet of Immermann's temperament study its past life rather than live its present. It was here, in his most formative period that he met (1821) that romantic woman, Countess Lützow, who for eighteen years was to deter the natural development of his life and mould the sentiment of some of his best known works.

It was a romantic period and his works show it. The next three years (1824-1827) were spent at Magdeburg. Here it was that he poetized his relation to the Duchess in "Cardenio" (1825) and for the first time entered the realistic field in "Das Trauerspiel in Tirol" (1826). In March, 1827, he went to Düsseldorf, and spent the last thirteen years of his life as the poet among a group of romantic artists. His epoch influenced him vastly more than he influenced it.

His relation to German romanticism was, then, intimate but imitative and sometimes spurious, incoherent but lifelong.

The intimacy of his relation to romanticism is revealed in his unconscious acts and utterances. He wants to improve his English, so he translates "Ivanhoe" (V, 140). He thinks of writing a brochure on French literature and the period to be treated is that beginning with Hugo (Beers Briefwechsel, October 28, 1830). He modernized Hebel's Alemannic poems (XI, 34-39), which Jean Paul characterized as "köstlich-

romantisch" (Vol. 17, p. 92). He is going to read "Prinz von Homburg" to the Countess, and if he can not secure a copy of this he will read Oehlenschlägers "Freias Altar" (L. Assing, p. 204). He manages a classical theatre for three years and makes a speciality of the works of Goethe, Shakespeare, Calderon and Tieck (Fellner: "Ges. e. deut. Musterbühne"). In order to keep his mind employed while at Münster, he reads Jacobi "Von den göttlichen Dingen" and Solger's "Aesthetik" (P. I, 49-121). An Englishman is introduced in "Der Carneval," and he is reading aloud the most romantic stanzas from "Childe Harold" (VIII, 93). Mention is made of the fretfulness of the age, and he says this condition is best described in the three main works of Görres (XX, 116). Three poets appear to him in a vision as he begins work on "Merlin," and these are Dante, Wolfram v. Eschenbach and Novalis (XV, 57-58). Balsamine uses Tulifäntchen as a book-mark, and the book happens to be a volume of Jacob Böhme (XIII, 95). And so it is throughout all his works; romantic references are made unconsciously, often where others would have answered the purpose just as well.

The imitative, second-hand nature of his romanticism is seen in the way he treated its most conventional phases. He composed several Märchen, but they do not sound as genuinely romantic as do those of Tieck. His mysticism in "Merlin" is not so impressive as, for example, that of Zacharias Werner in "Die Söhne des Thals." He filled some of his characters with a demoniac impetuosity, but not so completely as did Kleist. This difference is due, of course, in part to the fact that he was not so poetically gifted as his romantic prototypes; in part also to the fact that it was not first-hand with him. Andreas Gryphius wrote (1657), for example, "Cardenio und Celinde." Arnim, wishing to revive the old drama, wrote (1811) "Halle und Jerusalem." Arnim took over, with only slight modification, Gryphius' main plot and underlying idea. Immermann, wishing to poetize his relation to Countess Lützow, wrote (1825) "Cardenio und Celinde." The influence of Arnim lies on the surface. But a comparison of the two dramas gives a clear picture of the difference between the

romanticism of an orthodox member of the school and one of its followers. Arnim romanticized an old Italian story; Immermann imitated a German romantic drama.

Closely allied to this is his habit of adding an original, sometimes pseudo-romantic touch to an otherwise romantic theme. In "Friedrich II" he wrote a Catholic tragedy. But the essential difference, to Immermann, between Protestantism and Catholicism was this: the former is preventive, the latter curative; the former preaches the necessity of abnegation, the latter the romanticism of absolution. Friedrich II lived by no means an abnegative life; and he died a romantic death, consoled by the Archbishop of Palermo. Immermann was somewhat like Schiller in "Maria Stuart." Mortimer talks much about the symbolic beauty of Catholicism, admits, however, that since a Catholic, he can renounce a life of renunciation and, a "Fröhlicher," join the "Fröhlichen." The orthodox Catholic romanticists impress one as being more serious and sincere.

The incoherency of his romanticism is seen in the way in which he arbitrarily shifted from one extreme to another. "Periander" (1822) is, in proportion, as much of a fate-tragedy as is Grillparzer's "Ahnfrau." In "Cardenio" (1825) the whole idea of fate is held up to honest ridicule (XVI, 385). Romanticism is nothing if not subjective. But "Ronceval" (1819) and "Edwin" (1820) are not predominantly so. "Papierfenster" (1822) is as subjective as Tieck's "Lovell." "Periander" (1822) is as little subjective as "Wallenstein." Subjectivism is scant in "Ghismonda" (1837) and abundant in "Tristan" (1840).

And Immermann's romanticism was lifelong. He became, to be sure, from year to year, less romantic; so did his age. But just as he wrote no pretentious work that is wholly romantic, so did he write none wholly unromantic. In three instances, "Die Verschollene" (1821-1834), "Das Trauerspiel in Tirol" (1826-1833), "Friedrich II" (1821-1828) he revised his works. In each case it was largely a question of eliminating the most romantic elements. But even realistic "Epigonen" has a "romantic-criminal background" (P. II, 139), and "Münchhausen" is "Eine Geschichte in Arabesken,"

a form for the novel, to which Fr. Schlegel gave his unserved approbation (Minor, II, 369). And it is in "Münchhausen" that he ironically rises above his work and introduces the "bekannter Schriftsteller Immermann" as one of his characters (III, 135-161). His first and main biographer puts his "break with romanticism" as early as 1826, in "Das Trauerspiel in Tirol." The most popular year with general manuals of German literature is 1829, the year of the satiric epic "Tulifäntchen." He quarreled with romanticism from time to time, but he never completely broke with it. As an adopted citizen of the romantic republic, he was at times a loyalist, at times a malcontent and at times a rebel.

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CHRONOLOGICALLY CLASSIFIED LIST OF
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PREDOMINANTLY ROMANTIC

1819. Das Thal von Ronceval—Tragedy.
1820. Edwin—Tragedy.
1821. Petrarca—Tragedy.
Die Prinzen von Syrakus—Romantic Comedy.
Die Verschollene—Mystic Prose Drama in one Act.
1822. Die Papierfenster eines Eremiten—Mystic Novel.
König Periander und sein Haus—Gruesome Fate-Tragedy.
1823. Das Auge der Liebe—Romantic Comedy, after Shakespeare.
Der neue Pygmalion—Romantic Short Story with Realistic Touches.
1825. Cardenio und Celinde—Tragedy of Love and Brutality.
1827. Die Verkleidungen—Romantic Comedy.
1828. Kaiser Friedrich II—Catholic Tragedy.
1829. Der Carneval und die Somnambule—Romantic Short Story of Somnambulism.
Tulifantchen—Satirical Epic.
1832. Merlin—Mystic Dramatic Poem.
1834. Die Verschollene—Mystic Prose Drama in one Act, revised.
1837. Ghismonda—Tragedy of Romantic Love.

1840. *Tristan und Isolde*—Romantic Epic (Fragment).

PREDOMINANTLY UNROMANTIC

1817. *Ein Morgenscherz*—Rationalistic Comedy in Alexandrines.

1818. *Die Nachbarn*—Dramatic Idyl in one Act, Rationalistic with Romantic Touches.

1822. *Poems* (93)—Rationalistic and Realistic.

1825. *Die schelmische Gräfin*—Rationalistic Comedy in Alexandrines.

1826. *Das Trauerspiel in Tirol*—Realistic with Romantic Touches.

1828. *Die Schule der Frommen*—Rationalistic Comedy in Alexandrines.

1830. *Poems* (70) Realistic and Rationalistic.

1831. *Alexis*—Tragedy; a Trilogy, Realistic.

1833. *Poems*—Realistic with Romantic Touches.

Andreas Hofer—Realistic Tragedy, revised, fewer Romantic Touches.

1835. *Epigonen*—Culture Novel, Realistic with Romantic Touches.

1840. *Münchhausen*—Culture Novel, Realistic with Romantic Touches.

MISCELLANEOUS

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THE GONGU-HRÓLFSSAGA

A STUDY IN OLD NORSE PHILOLOGY

BY

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CALVIN THOMAS.

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TO
PROFESSOR WILLIAM H. CARPENTER
AND
PROFESSOR ARTHUR F. J. REMY
OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

The completion of this work would have been impossible along the present lines if the author had not been able, throughout the course of his investigations, to draw without reserve on the advice and assistance of several gentlemen who were kind enough to place their special philological accomplishments at his disposal.

The author is indebted to Professor William H. Carpenter, of Columbia University, for the suggestion of the subject and for many hints as to the division and distribution of the material, as well as for many literary references of great value. To Professor Eugen Mogk, of Leipzig, are due the author's thanks for suggestions as to the source of some of the folklore material in GHS. Mr. Halldór Hermannsson, Custodian of the Fiske Icelandic Collection at the Cornell University Library, aided the author in properly utilizing the resources of that great collection, also by sending him lists of MSS. inaccessible in this city, and by introducing him by mail to Mr. Matthias Þórdarson, then of Copenhagen, now of Reykjavík, Iceland, who copied the *Göngu-Hrólfs Rimur* at Copenhagen, and later collated them with another MS. at Reykjavík.

Professor Arthur F. J. Remy, of Columbia University, carefully went over the entire MS., thus giving the author numerous corrections and suggestions based on an intimate acquaintance with the phonology of Old Norse and with the whole field of medieval literature. But for Professor Remy's generous gift of his time and his expert knowledge in these fields, the publication of these pages might have been much delayed. Mr. Charles F. Barnason, a native of Iceland, and now a student at the College of the City of New York, rendered valuable assistance in preparing the *Ríma* and translation for print.

To these gentlemen it is the author's privilege to acknowledge his great obligations; where anything has been derived from books, effort has been made to give proper credit.

J. W. H.

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EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ant. Rus. Antiquités russes, see Bibliography.
AS. Anglo-Saxon.
Bibl. Bibliography.
cpd. compound.
CV. Cleasby and Vigfusson's Icelandic Dictionary.
Denm. Denmark.
Engl. English.
ESV. Eiríkssaga víðförla.
Fas. Fornaldarsögur norðurlanda.
Fms. Fornmannasögur.
Fr. French.
Ger. German.
Gr. Greek.
GHS. Gøngu-Hrólf's Saga.
H.Hb. Helgakviða Hundingsbana.
Hjálm. ok Ólvés. Hjalmpérssaga ok Ólvés.
Hróm. S. Greip. Hrómundarsaga Greipssonar.
ISV = YngvSV.

Knytl. Knytlingasaga.
Krit. Bidr. Kritiske Bidrag, see Bibl., under "Storm."
Lat. Latin.
Lilj. Liljegren, see Bibl.
MHG. Middle High German.
MLG. Middle Low German.
Mod. Modern.
OF. Old French.
OHG. Old High German.
Sturl SS. Sturlaugssaga starfsama.
ON. Old Norse.
YngvSV. Yngvarssaga víðförla.

A few other abbreviations are explained at the head of the list of geographical names in the appendix.

CHAPTER I

THE FORNALDARSÖGUR IN GENERAL

In a consideration of the literature written in the Old Norse Language it has long been customary to regard as of greater importance those sagas that deal with purely historical persons and events, or such sagas as appear to be of this character. Possibly because the historical material orally preserved in Iceland was so relentlessly present in the minds of the people, the historical saga has always been put into a position of first importance as compared with the more distinctly fictional kind that we are about to consider. There can be no reason, in a study limited to a consideration of one comparatively insignificant work, for recasting all values in estimating the relative importance of the various literary forms employed in Icelandic literature. Yet it is an open question in Icelandic literature whether or not the main emphasis should be placed on the purely historical and didactic. In the medieval literature of the various European countries, pure fiction no doubt received the larger share of the popular as well as of the more aristocratic interest. Perhaps, as has been suggested, the interruptions in the continuity of continental history, and the resulting lack of connection with the story of great movements (a lack of connection due also no doubt in part to the infinitely greater vastness of the European community, in which the individual and the family must have appeared even then as of relatively slight importance), will to some extent explain the desire so apparent on the continent, to occupy oneself rather with the products of the imagination than with reality. The little band of Icelanders, on the other hand, who at no time in their history have exceeded the number of eighty thousand souls, have never at any time lost the knowledge of their relations to the persons and events of their national life.

Although the historical saga has always held the first place, it would be erroneous to assume that the existence of pure

fiction in the literature of the Icelanders is of very recent date. In fact, it is extremely probable that stories without historical foundation were very common before any prose narratives were put into writing at all, in other words, that they existed in oral tradition side by side with the historically correct accounts of the doings of real families. Although the recording of the fictitious stories does not begin as early as that of the comparatively true ones (which Mogk very plausibly explains by the fact that the greater esteem in which the latter were held required that the first efforts of native scribes writing in the vernacular be directed towards preserving them rather than the untrue),¹ we have no convincing reason to believe that they are less old as a class than the historical sagas. But the very fact that they were as a rule written down later implies, of course, that the extant forms of the fictitious sagas must be somewhat more recent than those of the historical sagas. Olrik² has shown that Saxo's history is founded almost entirely on current legendary accounts.

A truthful account of the life of an individual or of a family must be a really artistic production if it is to hold our attention for long. This requirement is of course fulfilled by the best historical sagas, but it should be remembered that where the faculty of invention is kept in check by the fear of possible criticism of fact, there is a strong chance for the prosy writer to become hopelessly prosy. That mere annals as such are comparatively unenjoyable to the seeker for literary stimulus, and that a saga must become dull through too great adherence to commonplace or perhaps sordid detail, goes without saying. It may almost, in fact, be set down as an axiom that as historical material becomes more and more exhausted, the repetition of it is bound to become dull unless it is narrated from a new point of view. What is really dramatic and imposing in the lives of the ancestors of any race, will finally all have been written, and attention will then be turned to more recent events. These, however, are often so closely connected with the legal practices of the times, that their narration may

¹ *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, vol. II, 1. Abt., p. 737 (2nd ed.).

² *Kilderne til Saxes Oldhistorie*, see Bibl.

very well be a bore to the reader who takes up the story several centuries after it has been written. Valdemar Vedel has pointed out that in many cases in the Icelandic sagas the war-like instincts of the Icelanders were beginning to manifest themselves within the forms prescribed by a gradually stiffening legal code, and that what might have been the story of pitched battles was transformed into the tale of dreary legal controversies.³ Even so perfect a work as the *Njáls saga*⁴ does not escape, from the point of view of the modern reader, the charge of being too prolix in the recital of the litigations of the time, which to us are seldom intelligible without special study. Of course we must not confound our point of view with that of the contemporary hearers of the story. But is it not possible that the increase of purely conventional activities, which is one of the characteristic concomitants of an advancing civilization, may have made the lives of the Norwegians and Icelanders less interesting as subjects of artistic treatment? At any rate, we find that the Norsemen presently begin to invent new pastures for the imagination to stray in, because their present, like our own, was becoming too real, too actual, for them, and they needed the stimulus of that which had never been on sea or land.

These brief remarks are in no sense to be regarded as an adequate history of the origin of the mythical saga, but rather as an attempt to characterize briefly the attitude of mind that would result in the production and favorable reception of purely fictitious writings even in a community that regarded them as secondary in importance to such as were strictly historical. The worthiness of the fictitious saga as an object of attention will become even more apparent through the efforts of men like Alexander Bugge to show that the boundary-line between the fictitious and the historical sagas is by no means as clear as has been supposed. On the other hand, there is

³ *Heldenleben (Mittelalterliche Kulturideale)* Leipzig, 1910, p. 133: "Die Rechtsordnung . . . verwandelt die Heldendichtung in Prozessromane."

⁴ Hoff's *Hovedpunkter af den Oldislandske litteraturhistorie*, Copenhagen 1875, which gives only the most sketchy information, has this to say on *Njála* (p. 21): "Det er den ypperste af dem alle (i. e., the family sagas), klassisk i sprog, sammensætning og karakterskildring, dog lidt tung at læse, da retsvaesenet spiller en så betydelig rolle deri."

a different error that must be avoided in the consideration of the fictitious sagas. We have tried to show above that the strictly historical account may at times have become less interesting to the natives themselves; it would be wrong to assume that the unhistorical account is necessarily more interesting to the modern reader through the absence of practices current at the time of the saga's composition. As a rule this kind of saga is not nearly so carefully constructed, and moreover has other defects, as will appear in this and the following chapters.

What would be the natural literary outcome of a desire not to read painstakingly accurate accounts of persons in their up-to-date actions, clothes, speech and relations? And above all, what would be the result of an attempt to impart to a literary work the appearance of having been composed in the dim, dark, "fore-time," when things were simple and men did not go to law, but fought fiercely with strange monsters and with each other? The most disillusioning element possible in such a story of the old times would be the necessity of associating these events with the places in which the readers were now living: the first trick of the writer of the untrue saga is therefore to shift the scene of action to a far-off country. If he be an Icelander, the last country he will think of introducing will be Iceland, but he will be careful also to avoid too great familiarity with the other three Scandinavian countries; at any rate, if he intends to introduce the supernatural at all, he will not lay the scene in one of those lands, but rather in some other, much less familiar country, the inhabitants of which the reader is willing to credit with harmful practices. It will also be the duty of the author to remove his story, in point of time, as far as possible from the reader. The greatest collection of "untrue" sagas appropriately bears the name "*Fornaldarsögur*," a name given by the collector, C. C. Rafn, to the compilation which is still the authoritative one in this field (see Bibl.). Finnur Jónsson also names these *Fornaldarsögur* "oldtidssaer," by which he means, "sagas of prehistoric times."⁵

In regard to the habits and characteristics of his personages, the author will have to make everything as general and vague

⁵ *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, p. 790: "hvor oldtid er forhistorisk tid fra nutidens standpunkt."

as possible, in order to forestall any comparison with the habits of his contemporaries. In short, he will seek to maintain an antique and exotic flavor rather by fabricating than by borrowing from a more authoritative saga; his characters will be mere general types with very general names;⁶ his stories will be pure romances. While, as we shall see, the main characters remain Scandinavian, foreign names occur in many of the *Fornaldarsögur*⁷ and those in the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* are particularly interesting. Exaggeration and extravagance are the breath of life to the *Fas.*, and the character of the campaigns and voyages undertaken is often such as to remove all appearance of reality from the story. Jónsson's complete definition of the *Fas.* is here given, inasmuch as it sums up briefly their main characteristics: "The sagas thus called are a group of sagas dealing with persons, some of whom were or are believed to have been historical. Most of these personages are Scandinavians, many Danes, and they are at least genealogically connected with real families and dynasties. Other characters are altogether unhistorical, fabricated Scandinavians, who may in some way or other be considered together with the more historical ones, and furthermore appear to belong to the same class because of their entire character and activities. To these sagas we must add a few others which deal, either wholly or in part with non-Scandinavian subjects or persons, especially with characters such as occur in German legend, including the Saga of Dietrich von Bern (provided the latter saga be really Icelandic)."

Jónsson's definition informs us that while we may expect to find foreign names creeping in, the characters of the *Fas.* will, in the main, be Scandinavians. But as their adventures, in order to be sufficiently foreign, must be removed to other climes, one of the first important devices in the story will be to transport the hero to foreign shores. Rebukes, incriminations, or insults received from a parent would be a natural method of arousing the rebellious instincts of a high-spirited son, besides being a device not unknown in the more legiti-

⁶ Op. cit., p. 820.

⁷ Hereafter the abbreviation *Fas* will be used for *Fornaldarsögur* and *GHS* for *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*.

mate historical sagas.⁸ In GHS this trick is used with great effect. Another thing that the writers would be likely to avoid is the too frequent occurrence of real Icelandic names, which would result in making the stories seem too familiar to the reader, thus impairing the impression of remoteness in time and place that the authors are striving for. The indices of personal names occurring in the *Landnáma* (which may be taken as representative of the strictly historical saga), on the one hand, and of those occurring in the *Fas.*,⁹ on the other, afford a very striking and interesting material for comparison. In the *Landnáma* is found to abound in purely Icelandic names, such as Thorkell, Thorsteinn, such names are almost entirely absent in the *Fas.*, occurring there but two or three in each. It was perhaps felt by the writers that these names, familiar names were less fitted to be used for sagas that were intended to produce an ancient, venerable, and distant impression, and that for this purpose the time-honored names of royal dynasties in the old peninsular home were more appropriate. This carefully selective process is indicative not only of erudition and sophistication, but also of a consistent artistic purpose in the composition of the *Fas.* The writers were acquainted not only with many historical sagas, but, also, in some cases, with other sagas of the *Fas.* class. It is to this latter fact that we must attribute the recurrence of the same person in several of the *Fas.* In fact, it is hard to resist the conclusion that sometimes an entire *Fas.* may have been originally suggested by the name of some person not sufficiently described in some other *Fas.*¹⁰ Thus, one of the

⁸ *Vatnsdælasaga*, c. 2.

⁹ It is unfortunate that the index of persons in *Fas* must remain inaccessible for most readers, as the original edition of Rafn, now difficult to obtain, is the only one that contains full indices. The later edition of Ásmundarson contains neither the indices nor any other critical material.

¹⁰ We shall so often have occasion to mention the *Fas.*, that a list of the sagas contained in the three volumes (of either edition), is here given:

I. Hrólfs saga kraka ok kappu hans, Volsungasaga, Ragnars saga loðbrókar ok sona hans, þáttur af Ragnars sonum, Norna-Gests þáttur, Sörla þáttur, Sögubrot af nokkurum fornkonungum í Dana ok Svía veldi, Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks.

II. Hversu Noregr byggðist, Fundinn Noregr, Hálf's saga ok Hálf'srekka, Af Upplöndinga konungum, Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar, Friðþjófs saga ens

chief characters in *Sturlaugssaga starfsama* (the story of Gǫngu-Hrólf's father) is Ása, the sister of Egil, who becomes the wife of Ásmund's friend Herrauðr at the end of *Egils saga ok Ásmundar* (c. 17). As GHS may have been composed to complete the story of Sturlaug's offspring,¹¹ why may not *Sturlaugssaga starfsama* also have been written to explain what became of Egil's sister Ása? The close interdependence of many of the *Fas.* will appear when we consider the origins of some of the motives of GHS in the chapter devoted to the sources and materials of the saga (IV).

In order that we may later emphasize not only the points of agreement between GHS and the other sagas of its class, but also the points of difference, it will be well to pass in review such other characteristics of the *Fas.* as may be predicated of the entire collection with a fair degree of universality. As has been shown above, some of these qualities are conditioned in advance by the very nature of the *Fas.*, which are essentially productions that aim to escape the limitations of historical reality. If this fact necessarily involves shifting the scene of action to distant lands, if it further requires a simulation of the ancient rather than an adherence to what is more recent, it follows that this kind of literature will demand improbable and supernatural incidents with as much frequency as the more probable and natural ones. And as the faculty of invention rarely succeeds anywhere in constructing entirely new motives, we may expect to find the writers of the sagas in question utilizing not so much the firm outlines of the historical sagas, with their matter-of-fact, unadorned plots, but rather the unwritten folk-stories which are known to teem with improbable and even impossible motives. The collection of these has been one of the chief tasks of critical scholarship in the nineteenth

froekna, Ketils saga haenga, Grims saga loðinkinna, Qrvar-Odds saga, Ans saga bogsveigis, Hrómundarsaga Greipssonar, Ásmundarsaga kappabana.

III. Gautreks saga (also called Gjafa-Refs saga ok Dalafilla), Hrólf's saga Gautrekssonar, Bósa saga ok Herrauðs, Gǫngu-Hrólf's saga, Egil's saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana, Sǫrla saga sterka, Hjalmbjers saga ok Olvis, Hálfðánar saga Eysteinnssonar, Hálfðánarsaga Brǫnufóstra, Sturlaug's saga starfsama, Illuga saga Griðarfóstra, Eireks saga víðfjrla.

¹¹ Gǫngu-Hrólf is in GHS a son of Sturlaug, who is mentioned several times in GHS (see Synopsis, Chapter III of this work).

century.¹² In the selection of characters for the *Fas.*, this predilection for the improbable, from our point of view grotesque, creatures of popular legend is especially noticeable. Of such characters found there side by side with the ordinary human beings, a few typical examples may be presented:

Giants, both male and female, occur frequently, often with cannibalistic traits, and of course, monstrous in size and exceedingly ugly. In a few instances the female appears to be more kindly disposed toward mortals than the male, and goes so far as to assist the human hero in his undertakings against her own male relatives of the giant race. A typical instance of this is afforded by *Egils saga ok Ásmundar*, where the giantess Arinnefja aids Egil and Asmund in their attempt to free the daughters of the king of Russia from the hands of Arinnefja's two giant brothers. She even preserves Egil's hand, after it has been cut off, in life-giving herbs, and later causes the hand to grow on again in its proper place. Attention is called to this peculiar device, as we shall have occasion to notice a close parallel in GHS and in Icelandic folk-lore.¹³ The giant women, in some cases, therefore, show strong attachment, as well as gratitude to mortals for any services rendered to them by the latter. Jónsson¹⁴ calls attention to the fact that the giantesses are the chief representatives of the purely sexual element in the *Fas.*, which fact he explains as an outcome of corrupted taste due to foreign influence, as there are no parallels in the historical sagas, but an abundance of them in the *rímur*. He grants, however, that the "unembellished obscenities" of the *Bósasaga* are in part an original home product. Besides giantesses and monsters there are also human beings that have been transformed by magic into the shapes of monsters. Thus the sorceress Luða¹⁵ changes her stepson into a servant to the giants, and her two daughters into a *finngálkn* and giant's maid, respectively, and all because her stepson would not aid

¹² A task performed in Germany by the brothers Grimm in their *Kinder u. Hausmärchen*; for Iceland the collections by Rittershaus and Jón Árnason are of great importance (see Chap. IV).

¹³ See reference to Adeline Rittershaus, *Volksmärchen*, on p. 41 f.

¹⁴ Op. cit., p. 795.

¹⁵ *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis*, *Fas* III, c. 20 et passim.



her in carrying out her lascivious wishes. Etymological connection between the first syllable of *finngálkn* and the name of the people to whom the Scandinavians above all ascribed the art of witchcraft, is apparent.¹⁶

Berserkers play a prominent part in the *Fas*. In the king's army there are usually several such, who perform the most sensational and effective work of the battle, the account of which therefore usually resolves itself into a narration of the individual combats between the berserkers and the heroes, accompanied by an enumeration of those killed by each combatant. The ability to view a battle as a series of mass movements is wholly lacking, being an acquirement of relatively recent date.

In so far as the berserker may possess magic powers, there is a similarity between him and the real *sorcerer*, who is not infrequently a *dwarf*. These sorcerers must be distinguished according to their practice of the various forms of witchcraft (*galdr, seið*, v. CV). The dwarf Mōndull in GHS is interesting in that he absolutely lacks any individuality, exerting his powers quite as readily in Gōngu-Hrólf's interests as in his own, and this for almost no apparent reason. But of all the persons in the saga who possess supernatural powers it is in his case that these powers are the most amply described. In fact, this is done by the dwarf himself.

In regard to Geography (see Chapter VI), the *Fas*. rather avoid mention of Iceland, and, when speaking of Scandinavian countries, prefer Norway and Sweden to Denmark.¹⁷ Garðaríki and Bjarmaland are great favorites, probably because of their remoteness and also because of the legendary character of the knowledge which the Icelanders had concerning them. The inhabitants of Bjarmaland, and the Finns, their neighbors, are frequently represented as a race of sorcerers,¹⁸ Jónsson¹⁹ cites an interesting parallel to the state of confusion in the mind of the author of GHS, concerning geographical conditions,

¹⁶ CV s. v. *finngálkn*.

¹⁷ Outside of GHS XXXVII, largely devoted to geographical description, there is practically no mention of Denmark in that saga.

¹⁸ Because they lived so far away, fabrication concerning them was easy.

¹⁹ Op. cit., p. 798.

especially in respect to Garðaríki (see Chap. VI, Geography). Thus the author of *Orvar-Odds saga* is not at all clear in his notions of the geographical relations between Garðaríki and Bjarmaland, being under the impression that it is possible to sail from Gandvík (now the White Sea) into the Baltic, without rounding the north of Norway and sailing along the entire west coast of that country. Jónsson adds that it is probably the geographical proximity of these two countries that produced the impression that the body of water on which they (i. e., Garðaríki and Bjarmaland) lay, must be directly connected.

From what has been said above it will be readily understood why the incidents of the *Fas.* are necessarily unhistorical, or at any rate, less historical than those of the so-called historical sagas. That the *Fas.* were as a rule written down later than the historical sagas has already been mentioned. It has also been pointed out that the fictitious subject matter of these *Fas.* is represented as more ancient than the merely historical material. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that this subject matter is really ancient or drawn from folk-lore or myth, although we shall have occasion to speak of the folk-lore element when we come to discuss the sources and materials of GHS (Chap. IV).

CHAPTER II

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE GÖNGU-HRÓLSSAGA

The best Mss. of GHS, as well as some of less importance, are to be found in the celebrated Arnamagnæan Collection at Copenhagen. Those in that collection that are worthy of attention are:

1. AM 152 fol. Vellum, 15th century. Ff 98v-116.
2. AM 169c fol. Paper, 17th century. Ff 9-12. Two fragments:
 - a) from the beginning of the saga to "og voru kappa hans hier að mykelyrkiu;"
 - b) from "við asa tun norður fra skatna stoðum" to the end.
3. AM 338, 4°. Paper, about 1700. Written by Eyjolfur Björnsson. 88 ff.
4. AM 552d, 4°. Paper, end of the 17th century. Probably written by Ólafur Gíslason. F 10 obv: from the beginning of the saga until "var þat ætlan manna at moðir orms" . . . the rest lacking.
5. AM 567 XI. a-b 4°. Two vellum fragments:
 - a) 2 ff. Second half of the 14th century. Begins "Son. hogr gelli"; ends: "þessir menn foru i lid med hrolfi ok".
 - b) 2 ff. 15th century. The first leaf begins with the beginning of the saga as far as: "hun var jafnan med"; the second leaf begins: "yör giora. Wil ek kongiora yður."
6. AM 587c, 4°. Paper, written 1655. 32 ff.
7. AM 589f, 4°. Paper, 15th century. Ff 13v-36. After ff. 17, 22, and 31, lacks one leaf. The saga ends now on f. 36 obv, with the words: "Fraegd eðr vizku", after which the rest, filling two-thirds of the page, seems to have been erased.

8. AM 591e, 4°. Paper, written in the second half of the 17th century by Ólafur Gíslason. Ff iv-15 obv.

The great collection of Arni Magnusson, of which the above Mss. are a part, is now the property of the University of Copenhagen. The University Library also possesses, in its other collections, the following:

9. Rask 35. Paper, 18th century. Ff 168-230; ends with "Afttur til valsins".
10. Add. 2, 8°. Paper, written 1718-1720 by Einar Nikulasson. Pp. 1-115. Begins in Chapter 3: "með synu föru neite".

The Ancient Royal Collection also has the following (Gammel Kongelig Samling, Royal Library, Copenhagen):

11. Gl. kgl. Sml. 1003fol. Vellum, 17th century. Written by Páll Sveinsson, ff 25-48.
12. Gl. kgl. Sml. 1006fol. Paper, 17th century. Written by Jón Erlandsson, pp. 121-216.
13. Gl. kgl. Sml. 2845, 4°. Vellum, 15th century. Ff 39 obv-54 obv.

The Modern Royal Collection has the following:

14. Ny kgl. Sml. 1147fol. Vellum, 17th century, ff 82 obv-98 obv.
15. Ny kgl. Sml. 1178fol. Paper, 18th century, second half, written by M. Magnussen, 161 pp. A copy of AM 152fol.
16. Ny kgl. Sml. 1746, 4°. Paper, second half of the 18th century, written by T. Olavius. 161 pp. A copy of AM 338, 4°.
17. Ny kgl. Sml. 1747, 4°. Paper, second half of the 18th century; written by Th. M. Isfjord. 18 pp., containing "Variantes ad Gaungu-Hrolfs sögu" from AM 587c, 4°.

Kall's Collection, also in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, has the following:

18. Kall 254 fol. Paper, written 1688. 18 ff.

In the National Library at Reykjavik, the following Mss. in the collection of the Icelandic Literary Society, contain large portions of GHS:

19. Fol. No. 43. Paper, 35 chapters.
20. Qvart. No. 144. Paper, written by Jón Sigurðsson about 1771. 28 chapters.
21. Qvart. No. 165. Paper, written 1778. 25 chapters, pp. 75-110.
22. Qvart. No. 210. Paper, written 1841 by H. Ketilsson, a mere fragment.
23. Oct. No. 283. Paper, 17th century, a fragment.
24. Qvart. No. 269. Paper, 17th century, 37 chapters.
25. Oct. No. 395. Paper, 18th century. 36 chapters.
26. Oct. No. 593. Paper, a fragment.
27. Rvík.-Deild. Qvart. No. 56. Paper, 10th century. 25 chapters.

Two libraries in Sweden have Mss. of GHS: the Upsala University Library, and the Royal Library of Stockholm. Of those cited below, all that are marked Cod. Holm. belong to the latter, the only remaining one to the former:

28. Cod. Holm. chart. No. 88fol. The Icelandic text with the written Swedish version that is printed as the second part of Liljegren's *Skandinaviska Fornålderns Hjeltesagor*.
29. Cod. Holm. chart. No. 7, 4°. The Swedish version, as in preceding.
30. Cod. Holm. chart. No. 30, 4°. A copy made by Guðmundr Ólafsson, c. 1680-1690.
31. Cod. Holm. chart. No. 43, 4°.
32. Cod. Holm. chart. No. 80, 8°.
33. R 707. Braad's Collection, 4°. Paper. Ff 16-94 (pp. 1-156). Written by Braad (1745/1746) from Cod. Holm. chart. 4°. No. 30. 7.

Rafn, in the preface to the third volume of his *Fas.*, which has the only tolerable text of GHS, classifies the Mss. used by him in the preparation of his text of GHS under the four heads: *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*. *A* includes numbers 1 and 3 of the above list; *B* is number 13; *C* is number 7; *D* includes numbers 2, 4, and 6. It will thus be seen that Rafn drew no information from any copies of the saga not obtainable in Copenhagen, with the possible exception of information that may

~~from the version and the notes by Liljegren,~~
~~the first of which appeared in print (in Swedish, 1818).~~
~~of the above editions of Rafn and Liljegren, the~~
~~years 1888, 1889, concerning all of which infor-~~
~~is found in the Bibliography, under the heads,~~
~~Samuelsson, respectively, we have exhausted~~
~~the subject.~~

CHAPTER III

A SYNOPSIS OF THE GONGU-HRÓLFSSAGA

Shorter synopses may be found in *Mogk* (pp. 848-849), *Finnur Jónsson* (II, 824-825), *Sagabibliothek* (II, 646-654). It has been thought well, for several reasons, to give here a longer and more detailed epitome of the story. In the first place, references to the story will frequently be made, and to explain these it will be necessary to have at hand a complete summary of the contents of the chapter in question. Furthermore, some of the Mss. of the GHS, notably those at Stockholm, have not been utilized in Rafn's edition of the *Fas.*, and are now found mentioned only in Liljegren's Swedish translation. As these Swedish Mss (judging from Liljegren's translation), appear to diverge in some interesting points from the Mss used by Rafn (see under "Fenidi" in the list of Geographical Names in the Appendix), and as, moreover, Liljegren has divided the story into sixty chapters, whereas in both *Fas.* editions it has only thirty-eight, it has been deemed advisable to add the Swedish names by way of superscription, and to affix the Arabic numerals given by Liljegren to the chapters that correspond in his edition to the Roman numbers of the text editions.

Two series of paginations are here given for *Fas.*: the first, in italics, is that of *Fas.* 1830, the second, plain Roman, is that of *Fas.* 1889; the earlier edition being Rafn's, the latter Ásmundarson's. In each case it is the third volume that is meant. It will be seen that Liljegren breaks up the original chapters into three or four where they are too long.

I. 236-240, 146-147. Konung Reggvid och hans Härkläd-nad 1. Hreggvið was the king of Hólmgarðaríki; the saga expressly disclaims any knowledge of his wife. Ingigerð was his daughter, the most beautiful of maidens, with long yellow hair. The king had caught his horse Dulcifer in the neigh-

borhood of the river Dýna, which flows through Garðaríki. For seven years he has harried the peoples in the neighborhood of this river, returning home after all have given him up for dead. The horse refuses to be ridden in battle by any one who is not victorious, nor will Hreggvið's lance and shield, when struck together, give forth any sound, unless victory is assured.

II. 240-242, 147-148. Konung Erik och hans Berserkar 2. Erik, a sea-king, rules Gestrekaland in Sweden, the inhabitants of which are of great strength and stature. His sister Gyða is very beautiful. Four of his knights are of particular value to him in warfare: the brothers Sǫrkver and Brynjólfr, Þórðr Hlesseyjarskalli and his foster-brother Grímr. Both the latter have been brought up by Gróa, a vǫlva, the mother of Þórðr. Grím's mother must have been a sea-woman, as he is equally at home on water and on land. It is also stated that he eats the flesh and drinks the blood of both men and beasts.

III. 242-248, 148-153. Konungarne Reggvids och Eriks strid 3, Konung Erik och Prinsessen Ingegärd 4. Erik invades Hreggvið's land. The latter goes forth to meet him, although Dulcifal refuses to be ridden by him and other unfavorable omens are observed. Hreggvið is slain and his army put to flight. His daughter Ingigerð, when asked by Erik whether he can confer any favor on her, requests to be allowed to rule one fourth of her father's kingdom for three years, each year picking a man to do single combat with Sǫrkver. If the latter shall ever be defeated by Ingigerð's champion, the forces of Erik are to leave the country. Hreggvið, as Ingigerð also stipulates, is buried in a strong mound, over which Erik, the victor, causes powerful charms to be spoken, to prevent anyone but the wearer of Hreggvið's armor, which is buried with him, from defeating Sǫrkver.

IV. 248-251, 153-155. Gänge Rolfs härkomst 5. Sturlaug the strong, who rules over Hringaríki in Norway, and his wife Ása have four sons: Rognvald, Fraðmar, Erik, Hrólf. The last is so heavy that his horse cannot carry him a whole day. He is on bad terms with his father Sturlaug and his brothers. Finally, when told one day by his father to get married and

settle down, he is angry and decides to leave the place, but not before he has obtained from his mother two cloaks that Véfrejja, her fostermother, made for Sturlaug long ago. When he disappears, "ekki er þess getit, at Sturlaugr gaefi sér um burtferð Hrólfs".

V. 251-251, 155-156. Stefners hárkomst 6. Þorgnýr rules Jótland in Denmark. His wife is dead, but has left him two children: Stefner, who is strong and skilful, and Þóra, who is very pretty. Þorgnýr's councillor is Björn, of whom he is very fond. Björn is married and his wife's name is Ingibjörg.

VI. 252-258, 156-160. Rolf och Atle 7, Rolfs strid med elfva män 8, Rolf och Vikingen Jólgeir 9. Three adventures of Hrólfr. First, he enters an empty house and is discovered by Atli Ótryggsson, the returning owner, who tries to kill him in order to take revenge on Sturlaug, who has outlawed him. But Hrólfr kills Atli. Then, being mistaken for Atli, he is attacked by eleven men, but kills them all. Finally, he is hired by the skipper Jólgeir to serve on the latter's ship, but in the course of an altercation with him, he kills Jólgeir and is made captain by the latter's eighty men with whom he sails to Jótland, landing near the castle of Þorgnýr Jarl.

VII. 258-259, 160-161. Rolfs ankomst till Thorgrim Jarl 10. One day, while Þorgnýr is drinking at table, the door of the chamber is opened, and in comes a tall stout man, with a big spear in his hand. He declares himself to be Hrólfr, the son of Sturlaug, and that he has come to Þorgnýr's court in order to learn the manners and customs of his earldom. Þorgnýr receives him gladly, gives him a large castle for his eighty men, and allows him to share in the defence of the country. Hrólfr gets to be on very good terms with Stefner and with Björn, Þorgnýr's councillor.

VIII. 259-262, 161-163. Slaget mot Berserkarne Tryggve och Wase 11. Tryggvi Úlfkellsson of Bukansíðu in Skotland and his fosterbrother Vazi come to Denmark in order to avenge the death of their father on Þorgnýr, his slayer. Þorgnýr being old, puts Hrólfr and Stefner in charge of the ten ships of his fleet, which attack the twelve of Tryggvi's fleet. Hrólfr and Stefner board the huge dragon ship of Tryggvi and Vazi

and capture it, besides sinking six of the enemy's ships. Tryggvi jumps overboard and is drowned.

IX. 262-266, 163-166. Rafn och Krake 12. Two unknown men, Hrafn and Krákr, declaring themselves to be Flemish, visit Þorgnýr and beg to be his winter guests, appealing to his well-known hospitality to strangers. He accepts them as his guests, but is dismayed later, at a ball game, to find them maltreating his subjects, beating and maiming them in the course of the game. Hrólfr and Stefner are called to play against the unwelcome guests. When Hrafn breaks the neck of one of the players in this game, Þorgnýr orders him to be taken and killed. But after Hrólfr has subdued Hrafn and Stefner has captured Kráki, it is decided to pardon them on the ground of their evidently noble origin. They show very little gratitude, departing without a word of thanks.

X. 266-267, 166-167. Thorgrim Jóns löfte 13. One autumn day, when Þorgnýr is sitting by his wife's funeral mound, a swallow flies over him, dropping a silk handkerchief containing a long silken hair. In the evening those to whom the hair is shown declare it to be that of a woman, and Þorgnýr vows that he will either marry her to whom the hair belongs, or die in the attempt. A few days later, when Þorgnýr, in a general assembly, asks to whom this hair may belong, he is informed by Björn, his councillor, of the fate of Hreggvið and of the long hair of Hreggvið's daughter Ingigerð, to whom Björn is sure this hair belongs.

XI. 267-268, 167-168. Rolf erbjuder sig resa till Gardaríke 14. On receiving this information from Björn, Þorgnýr promises the hand of his daughter Þóra to him who will defeat Sþrkver and bring back Ingigerð to Denmark. None of the men volunteer, until Hrólfr declares that, in return for the excellent treatment he has received at the hands of Þorgnýr, he will try to do it: only, as he has no desire to marry, he will not hold the jarl to his promise as to the disposition of his daughter's hand. The jarl thanks Hrólfr and offers him as large a following as he may desire, but as Hrólfr prefers to go alone, the assembly is dismissed, Hrólfr going back to his castle and the rest to their homes.

XII. 268-270, 168-169. Rolf träffar Wilhelm Svefull 15. A short time after, Hrólfr steps out unnoticed, with his cloak Véfrejunnaut,¹ his spear Atlannaut,¹ a bow and a quiver of arrows. Some distance out from Denmark (it is not mentioned in what direction), he meets a man who calls himself Vilhjálmr and who proposes these alternatives to him: either Hrólfr is to inform Vilhjálmr of his name, destination and object, or Vilhjálmr will kill him. Not satisfied with this choice, Hrólfr decides to fight and is victorious over Vilhjálmr, whose life he spares on condition, however, that he is to follow Hrólfr as a servant, although Hrólfr does not quite trust his deceitful eyes. Vilhjálmr is also bound for Garðaríki, where he intends to open Hreggvið's tomb and thus to win the hand of Erik's sister Gyða.

XIII. 270-272, 169-171. Wilhelm Svefull binder Rolf 16. They arrive one day at a dwelling owned by Ölvi, a friend of Vilhjálmr, who receives them well and invites them to drink with him. As the evening wears on, Hrólfr becomes more and more intoxicated and goes to bed, falling asleep immediately. He awakens during the night to find himself tied to a post and surrounded by Vilhjálmr and his friends. A great fire is burning in front of him, in which Vilhjálmr threatens to roast him unless he will go to Garðaríki with Vilhjálmr, and accomplish for him the opening of Hreggvið's tomb and any other deeds that may be necessary in order that Vilhjálmr may win Gyða. Hrólfr has no choice but to submit, and they go (by what road is not stated), to Aldeigjuborg, where King Erik receives them.

XIV. 272-273, 171-172. Ankomsten till Gardaríki 17. King Erik is just sitting at table: when he asks the visitors who they may be, Vilhjálmr answers thus: "My name is Vilhjálmr and this is my servant Hrólfr, who is with me. I am the son of an earl in Frisland, from which I am a fugitive, as the land was taken away from me by my own subjects." The king questions Vilhjálmr as to his knightly accomplishments, and hears a very boastful account of the latter's feats of prowess. He turns to Hrólfr and asks him about his skill, but Hrólfr, in accordance with the agreement between him and

¹ An object is called the *nautr* of the person from whom it comes, CV.

Vilhjálmm, disclaims all knightly accomplishments. Sörkver and Brynjólfr are not at home, being away on a trip to Jötunheim with Grímr aegir. Erik, it seems, has enjoyed a very peaceful time since his conquest of Garðaríki.

XV. 273-278, 172-176. *Konung Eriks Jagt ock villkørliga löfte* 18, *Rolfs och Vilhjalms jagt* 19. Erik and his men have unsuccessfully pursued a hart that the king very much desired to own, and Vilhjálmm is asked to make good his boasts by capturing the animal. Erik's sister Gyða is to be his reward. He accordingly sets out with Hrólfr, but the latter is the only one who dares continue the journey. Hrólfr comes to a clearing in the woods, in which there is a house; out of it comes a woman, who informs him that she will make the hart his if he will come in and touch her daughter, who is at present in great pain, as she is unable to bring forth a child unless she is touched by the hand of a man. Hrólfr complies with her request, and she gives him the hart, together with the ring alfkonnaut, which will help him out of any place when he has lost his way. With the hart he rejoins Vilhjálmm, who takes all the credit for the capture, but owing to Erik's suspicion that it is Hrólfr who has performed this deed, Erik demands that Vilhjálmm shall obtain Hreggvið's armor before he will grant him the hand of his sister Gyða.

XVI. 279-284, 176-180. *Rolfs färd till Reggvids Hög* 20. On their way to Hreggvið's mound, Hrólfr and Vilhjálmm meet with an awful storm, which Hrólfr suspects to have been the cause of the death of all those who have ventured on this errand before, for none of them have ever returned. Hrólfr alone scales the high paling which surrounds the enormous mound, and sees within a human figure of royal appearance, Hreggvið's ghost. The ghost denies that he is to blame for the recent storm and attributes it to Sörkver and Grímr aegir. He recognizes that Hrólfr is the only man who can free his daughter; he therefore gives him two sets of armor, only one of which is to be given to Vilhjálmm. Hreggvið further declares that it was he who appeared to Þorgnýr in the form of a swallow, in order to cause Hrólfr to set out on this journey. Erik, on their return, is still incredulous as to Vilhjálmm's prowess.

XVII. 284-286, 180-182. Sote Berserks ankomst till Gardaríke 21. The possession of the island of Heðinsey is being disputed by Erik of Garðaríki and Menelaus of Tattararíki. The latter has appointed Sóti to guard the island. Sóti and Norðri invade Garðaríki, and Erik, who has no faith in Vilhjálms claim to have performed the other two feats, now calls upon him to kill Sóti. In return for this third feat he will surely obtain the hand of Gyða. Vilhjálm agrees, on condition that he may use for this purpose the best horse and weapons the king has. Hrólfr of course goes with him and the king is also in their army. The hostile armies meet.

XVIII. 286-290, 182-185. Eriks och Sotes slag 22, Wilhelm får Gyða 23. Vilhjálm keeps out of the battle and Hrólfr, clad in one of the garments Hreggvið has given him, fights in his place. He kills Sóti, and Erik kills Norðri. Then, as the army of the enemy is fleeing, Hrólfr returns to where Vilhjálm is hiding in the woods, and together they go back to the town, Vilhjálm visiting Gyða and boasting of his deeds before her. Erik is less impressed than ever with his prowess and suspects Hrólfr of being the real hero. But as Erik cannot again go back on his word, Vilhjálm and Gyða are married.

XIX. 290-291, 185-186. Rolf uppsägor sin tjenst 24. One morning Hrólfr comes to Vilhjálms bed and tells him, now that the latter has attained his object, Hrólfr will leave his service in accordance with their agreement. Gyða asks how Hrólfr can make such a statement, and Vilhjálm appeases her curiosity by saying that Hrólfr is a restless man who can never stay in one place for a long time. After Sörkver and Brynjólf come back from Jötunheim in the spring, Hrólfr does not see either them or Vilhjálm frequently. The third winter is approaching, the last in which Ingigerð may pick a champion to fight for her against Sörkver, and Erik thinks it is likely that she never will find one.

XX. 291-294, 186-188. Ingegärd väljer man att kämpa mot Sörkver 25. Ingigerð sends messengers to Erik, asking that a general assembly be called, in which she may choose her champion. Hrólfr is present with Hreggvið's sword, and, although seated in an inconspicuous place, is chosen by Ingigerð

as she passes along the lines. Erik, instinctively fearing trouble from Hrólfr, advises Ingigerð to choose a more illustrious champion. But she persists and takes Hrólfr home with her, treating him as an honored guest. Next morning, Hrólfr puts on Hreggvið's armor and mounts Dulcifal, who does not resist; lance and shield, struck together, also produce the sounds that foretell victory.

XXI. 295-296, 188-190. Rólfs och Sörkvers tornering 26. In the conflict Sörkver loses his shield and Hrólfr kills him in the third tilt by throwing him into a pit, thus breaking his neck. Erik orders his men to kill Hrólfr at once, but mounted on Dulcifal, who breathes fire and bites men to death, he fights his way to safety. At Ingigerð's castle, both she and Hrólfr mount Dulcifal, taking with them two large boxes, in which are her jewels.

XXII. 296-298, 190-191. Wilhelms förebåelser af Konung Erik 27. Erik upbraids Vilhjálfr roundly for his deception, whereupon the latter offers to bring back Hrólfr's head before he is to have final possession of Gyða, and sets out armed and mounted.

XXIII. 298-302, 191-194. Dvergen Møndul kommer till Thorgrim Jarl 28, Møndul och Bjørn rådgifvare 29. Meanwhile, in Denmark, Þorgnýr, on one of his journeys, meets the dwarf Møndull whom he takes into his service and with whom he becomes very intimate. Bjørn warns Þorgnýr against giving too much attention to Møndull and thereby neglecting his duties as a ruler. One day, when Ingibjörg, Bjørn's wife, is at home alone, Møndull visits her and speaks slightly of her husband. In resentment, Ingibjörg strikes him. To avenge himself, Møndull makes it appear that Bjørn has stolen a valuable belt from Þorgnýr, a present to the latter from Møndull. Seven nights are granted to Bjørn within which to prove his innocence.

XXIV. 302-306, 194-197. Rolf förlorar sina fötter 30. Hrólfr and Ingigerð, riding away from Garðaríki, one day notice a man riding after them quickly; he turns out to be Vilhjálfr, who falls down on his knees before Hrólfr, saying he has been treated badly by the king, and imploring Hrólfr's



pardon. Ingigerð does not approve of sparing Vilhjálmm's life. But Hrólfr does spare him, in spite of Dulcifer's displeasure, evinced by a desire to bite Vilhjálmm. At night, Hrólfr and Ingigerð lie in bed with a naked sword between them. Vilhjálmm pricks Hrólfr with a sleep thorn, which remains sticking in the flesh. In the morning, Vilhjálmm tries to saddle Dulcifer, who resists, and Ingigerð in vain tries to waken Hrólfr. Vilhjálmm cuts off Hrólfr's feet and compels Ingigerð to accompany him to Jarl Þorgnýr, as he has no mind to go back to Garðaríki. Vilhjálmm cannot mount Dulcifer, nor will the latter permit him to approach Hrólfr. When they reach Þorgnýr's country, he greets them cordially, and Vilhjálmm gives him a false account of Hrólfr's doings, saying that Hrólfr has been killed at Erik's command. He also pretends to have fought on Hrólfr's side with the object of bringing Ingigerð home to Þorgnýr, and now demands Þorgnýr's sister Þóra as his bride. On the recommendation of Ingigerð, their wedding is postponed for a month. Vilhjálmm's objection to this arrangement stirs up ill feeling between him and Stefner. Ingigerð preserves Hrólfr's feet in herbs that prevent them from dying.

XXV. 306-310, 197-200. Rolf återfår sina fötter 31. Dulcifer, by rolling Hrólfr over on the ground, causes the sleep thorn to drop out and Hrólfr wakes and notices that his feet are gone. He applies a gem to stop the pain and crawls onto the back of Dulcifer, who lies down for the purpose, and rides him to Björn's house. Here he leaves him outside and goes in and settles down in a chair in a dark corner. He sees Björn's wife, blue and swollen, come in and light a fire, and then Møndull leads in Björn, bound hand and foot, and kisses Ingibjörg. Thereupon Björn upbraids him, saying that Hrólfr would not permit such indignities to be heaped on his friend if he were here. Møndull assures Björn that Hrólfr is dead, and that his feet are severed from his body. Hrólfr leaps from his chair, bears Møndull to the ground and cries out: "Know that Hrólfr's hands still live, though his feet be gone!" Møndull begs for mercy, offering to cure Ingibjörg's illness, and to put on Hrólfr's feet again. The former he does by giving her a potion of forgetfulness and applying a salve to her blue skin.

Then he goes out and
 Hrólfr's feet, which he
 Then he sets Hrólfr
 three days, after which they
 promises to help Hrólfr in case

as Björns ankomst till
 to accompany Hrólfr to
 and they appear
 first is not recognized.
 one man throws a huge
 light and hurls back,
 him to the wall.
 When he learns
 him that he give an
 live to enjoy it much

us lefnadshändelser 33.
 för tåget till Gar-
 quarrel with his own
 occupants. After
 was one day visited by
 now believes to have
 and fame if he
 way to Garðaríki.
 confesses that it was
 He closes his
 is decided and
 gains him the
 glad to see him
 and avenge her
 she cannot
 return of Hrólfr
 and of the

all Gardaríki
 the one
 and Hrólfr

is placed in the first ship, as he is the possessor of *alfkonunaut*. As soon as a favorable wind arises, they set sail, Mǫndull sitting in the stern of the last ship. Some of the men think Mǫndull a coward who is afraid to stay with Hrólf and help defend him; so they loosen their ship and attempt to advance to Hrólf's aid, but they are driven back by a hostile wind and then swamped by a huge whale, thus losing all on board. They sail into the mouth of the Dýna and obtain more recruits. At Mǫndull's command they pitch their tents end to end, and he covers all the tents with a black tent-cloth of silk. Thus they are secure against the awful storm which rages for three nights against their tents, except one man, who is killed. According to Mǫndull it was Grímr aegir who appeared as a whale and wrecked their ship, but he was not able to advance to the other ships on account of the "kefli"² that Mǫndull kept trailing out behind the last ship. Mǫndull, Hrólf and Stefner go out to find the twelve men who, as Mǫndull declares, were sent to prepare a *seið* against Hrólf and Stefner. They find them and Mǫndull causes the *seið* to work against its originators, as a result of which the latter all perish. It is agreed that Mǫndull is not to take part in the approaching battle, as he is not much of a warrior.

XXIX. 319-321, 207-208. Thorgrim Jarls fall 38. Tryggvi, knowing that Jótland is now defenceless, attacks the country, which is in charge of Þorgnýr and his councillor Björn. The former is killed, to the great sorrow of Þóra and of all the people, but the country is delivered and Tryggvi killed by an army which has landed from three unknown ships, and which is led by two cowed warriors, who depart without waiting for thanks.

XXX. 321-326, 208-212. Slaget första dagen i Gardaríke 39, Sturlögs ankomst till Gardaríke 40. This chapter gives an account of the first day of the battle, at the end of which Sturlaug starfsama and his son Erik, Hrólf's father and brother, arrive to help him.³

² See CV s. v. *kefli*.

³ Chapters XXX, XXXI, and XXXIII are not given more closely, as they are full of incidents of the battle that have little bearing on the narrative proper.

XXXI. 326-333, 212-217. Andra dagens krigshändelser 41, Sturlög och Thord 42, Slagets slut 43. The second day of the battle is described in this chapter, in the course of which Sturlaug and Hrólfr's brother Erik are killed.

XX 3-337, 217-220. Rolfs andra resa til Reggvids hög 43, Rolf och Stefner 44, Sista slagets tillrustningar 45. On the eve of the third day's battle, Hrólfr, whose army has dwindled to two thousand men, takes a trip to Hreggvið's mound to get advice. He is told by Hreggvið that Stefner also desires the hand of Hreggvið's daughter, but that Hreggvið prefers to have Hrólfr as a son-in-law. Hrólfr is presented with two vessels, from one of which he and Stefner are to drink together. Its contents have the twofold effect of supplying both of them with new strength for the continuation of the fight, and of weakening Stefner's attachment for Ingigerð, so that he will favor her marriage to Hrólfr. The other vessel is for the army, and is to give them fresh vigor too. The effect of these two potions is as Hreggvið has predicted. Preparations are made for the next day's fight.

XXXIII.* 337-346, 220-227. Møndull Dverg och Grim Äger 46, De tvänne förklädde kämparnes strid 47, Konung Eriks fall 48, Rolfs och Grim Ägers kamp 49, Krigets slut 50. The odds in Erik's favor are six to one, as his army is six times as numerous as Hrólfr's. Grím's discharge of a suffocating vapor against the opposing army redounds to his own disadvantage when Møndull, by means of a bellows, blows it back into the faces of Erik's men, causing great confusion among them. The two cowled men^b come from the sea to help them. One of them kills Erik, but the other is slain by Grím. Brynjólf is killed by Stefner, while Grímr aegir succumbs to the combined efforts of Møndull and Hrólfr, who as a consequence, win the battle.

XXXIV. 346-349, 227-229. Rolfs intåg i borgen 51, De slagnes högsättning 52, Rolfs och Stefners hemkomst 53. The cowled man discloses himself to be Hrafn and says that his companion, killed in battle, was Kráki. The inhabitants of

* The longest chapter of the saga, and full of episodes of the battle that do not contribute to the progress of the narrative.

^b Grímumenn, see XXIX above.

the "borg" (Aldeigjuborg) are delighted to hear that Hrólfr wishes to restore to Ingigerð her dominions, and they straightway put themselves under his rule. Three mounds are raised: in one is placed Sturlaug starfsama, together with Kráki and the best leaders of the invading army; in another, Erik, Brynjólf, Þórð, and their chief men; in the last, Grímr aegir and all the common men that have fallen. Hrólfr and Stefner with the rest of the army return to Denmark, landing at Áróð. Ingigerð thanks them for their work.

XXXV. 349-351, 229-230. Rafns händelser 54. Hrafn reveals himself in his true character as Harald, son of a king in England, Jatgeir by name. Hrafn has been driven out of the country by the usurper Heinrek, who now rules. He asks Hrólfr and Stefner to help him regain his father's kingdom. This help is gladly given, and a fleet of thirty ships sails to England, landing at Lindisey.

XXXVI. 351-357, 230-235. Konung Erik i England 55, Striden i England 56, Harald återfår sin faders rike 57. In spite of the trickery of Heinrek and his adviser Annis, who cause a second army to fall upon Hrólfr's Danes after his forces have been made tired by the fight according to the rules mutually agreed upon, Hrólfr and Harald are victorious and Heinrek is killed. Harald regains his father's kingdom and is very grateful to his allies.

XXXVII.* 357-361, 235-238. Fosterbrödernas Bröllop 58, Beskrifning öfver England och Danmark 59. Stefner falls in love with Harald's sister Alfild, and with Hrólfr they all sail back to Denmark on a commercial venture. There a triple wedding takes place: Hrólfr is married to Ingigerð, Stefner to Alfild, and Harald to Þóra, daughter of Jarl Þorgnýr. Stefner becomes Jarl of Jótland.

XXXVIII. 362-364, 238-239. Rolfs ättlingar 60. Hrólfr and Ingigerð go to Hólmgarð and the former is made king of all Garðaríki. The names of his children are given, and some account is added to the later history of Stefner and Harald. With a long plea for credence the saga ends.

*Chapter XXXVII is a compendium of geographical and cultural information that does not permit of condensation. Both its geographical and cultural phases will be found treated, however, on pp. 72 and 42.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCES AND MATERIALS OF THE GÖNGU-HRÓLFS SAGA

It will not be difficult to ascertain those elements of GHS that it possesses in common with other *Fas.*, and which have been described, in their general outlines, in Chapter I. It will be much more difficult, on the other hand, to point out actual borrowings from other sagas, or from the continental romances of chivalry that were imitated so assiduously in the north. The borrowings, however, that lend themselves most readily to distinct investigation, are the crude cases in which a passage has been taken over bodily or has been changed but slightly. Of this we have but one good example in GHS: it is the excerpt on the Geography of Denmark that is treated in our Chapter VI, and which is given in Appendix II in parallel columns with the original from which it is taken. As this falls more specifically under the question as to the origin of the author's geographical knowledge, no further mention of this interesting passage will be made here, beyond the statement that the excerpt differs from a number of other passages about to be considered, in that the author, in connection with it, once takes the trouble to mention the source of his information, which in this case, of course, is the *Knytlingasaga*.

We shall first take up the instances in which, to show his authority or to gain credence, the author mentions the titles of the sagas, which he alleges to be authorities for statements made by him. It is unfortunate that even in these simple cases, the MSS should disagree as to the saga from which the information is derived, or that names once mentioned in some MS or other are never met with in others. Yet such is the state of the case. Suffice it to say that, if the individual references are considered, that the author mentions either by name, or implicitly (and what is implicitly" will appear presently), the following

nine sagas: *Ólafssaga Tryggvasonar*, *Alexanderssaga*, *Yngvarssaga víðforla*, *Sturlaugssaga starfsama*, *Hrómundarsaga Greipssonar*, *Niflungasaga*, *Trójumannasaga*, *Heðins saga ok Högnar*, and *Hjaðningasaga*.

The *Yngvarssaga víðforla* is not referred to by name in Chapter I of GHS, but Yngvarr is mentioned and a reference is made to "his saga". Whether the author of GHS knew *Yngvarssaga víðforla* very closely, or not, cannot be ascertained from any information given in his work. It is evident that he takes but one element from *YngSV*, namely, the river up which Yngvarr sailed, and even that element is treated with a degree of complacent certainty that may be unwarrantable, since, in *YngSV*, the name Dýna is never given to the river in question.¹

Sturlaugssaga starfsama is the saga of Gøngu-Hrólf's father. It is probable that the author of GHS had an intimate acquaintance with this saga. This may be inferred not merely from casual reference, but from the fact that Hrólf throughout is known as the son of Sturlaug, and also from the fact that GHS attempts on one occasion to explain a divergence between GHS and *SturlSS*. The malicious Atli Ótryggsson (GHS VI, see Synopsis), recognizes Hrólf to be "son Sturlaugs hins starfsama" (although it is rather interesting to observe that *SturlSS* apparently takes no notice of Atli Ótryggsson, in spite of the latter's grievance against Sturlaug,—at least, *SturlSS* never mentions Atli by name). As even the last sentence in GHS begins with: "Nú verður hér endir á þessu máli frá Hrólf Sturlaugssyni ok hans afreksverkum", we may assume that the relationship between Hrólf and Sturlaug remained present in the author's mind. When the author of GHS tells that Sturlaug is killed in battle (GHS XXXI), he admits that this account does not agree with that of *Sturlaugssaga*, "at hann hafði orðit sótt dauðr heima í Hringaríki, ok vaeri þar heygðr", but no attempt is made to determine which version is the correct one: "vitum vér eigi, hvart sannara er".² The fact that *SturlSS* does not definitely assert that Sturlaug died a natural

¹ For a complete discussion of this point, as well as of all other geographical questions, see Chapter VI of this book.

² Both quotations are from GHS XXXI.

death, cannot be taken as a proof that the author of GHS did not know *SturlSS*; it might on the other hand be regarded as a proof that our author was so well acquainted with *SturlSS* as to have drawn the implication of Sturlaug's peaceful death from the earlier saga's statement that Sturlaug's sons ruled after him. Possibly the manner of the latter's end is not dwelt on in *SturlSS* because it accords but poorly with the material of a heroic saga. Other contradictions between GHS and *SturlSS*, that may be noted, but which at most prove that a copy of *SturlSS* was not constantly referred to during the composition of GHS, are: Sturlaug made king of Hringariki in Norway in GHS, whereas in the original work he had been left as king of Sweden (*SturlSS* XXVIII); also, GHS refers to the bison's horn as having been obtained by Sturlaug in Ireland (GHS IV), the sole reference to that country in GHS, while throughout *SturlSS* the country in which Sturlaug obtained the horn is understood to be Bjarmaland.

Two of the nine sagas mentioned above as being either directly or indirectly claimed by GHS's sources, are given by two authorities as occurring in one and the same MS. Thus Liljegren adds, after the word "Indíalandi", in his Swedish translation of an original that corresponds to Chap. XVII of our saga: "såsom i Niflungasaga berättas".³

The MS from which Liljegren translated was probably one of those in the library at Stockholm,⁴ for he distinctly expresses his regret, in the preface to his first volume, that circumstances have prevented him from visiting foreign libraries to use the MSS he knew they possessed; at any rate there is no such reference in either of the printed editions of *Fas*. Another saga is mentioned in the same passage in GHS XVII, but only in one MS, and that apparently an inaccessible one. The saga is not extant, but to judge by the following passage from Mueller's *Sagabibliothek*,⁵ it would appear to be a *Hjaðningasaga*: "Torfaeus føier til, (Series 483) at Sagaen anfører som Hiemmel herfor Hiadningernes Saga. Omendskiøndt nu dette

³ Liljegren, I, 76; see Bibliography for Liljegren's translation.

⁴ See list of Stockholm MSS., p. 13.

⁵ *Sagabibliothek* II, p. 578.

ikke findes i vore Haandskrifter of Gange Hrolfs Saga (Suhms kritiske Hist. 2 D. S. 202), maae det have staaet i Haandskriftet, den saa nøiagtige Torfaeus brugte." It is possible, after all, that a *Hjaðningasaga* may have existed at one time,, and perhaps even under that name, although a version extant at the present time of the great Hjaðninga fight is referred to in the same passage in GHS XVII.⁶ This version is now known as *Heðinssaga ok Hognæ*, and is printed in *Fas.* as *Sqrla þáttr*.

A few references to Heðinsey are given in the alphabetical list of geographical names (App. III); Chapter VI of *Sqrla þáttr* (*Fas.* vol. I) has nothing to say concerning any island; so the wording of the passage cited s. v. Heðinsey seems to indicate that the author does not derive his information from another saga, but has it from hearsay. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the Indialand of GHS must correspond to the Serkland of *Sqrla þáttr*.⁷ The reference to "meistari Galterus i Alexandri sögu eðr Umeris skald i Trójumanna sögu," found (with this wording) in only one version,⁸ is evidently an interpolation, and proves nothing more than that the interpolator knew the names of those two works.⁹

References to *Ólafssaga Tryggvasonar* are found in only one Ms, termed "C" by Rafn in his classification in *Fas.* III, *Introduction*, and there they occur in a passage which is intended to be introductory, and which in Rafn's edition is printed as a long foot-note; but in the 1889 edition of Ásmundarson it appears in small type as a sort of preface (III, 145-6).

Of the nine sagas cited in GHS, there now remains for consideration only the *Hrómundarsaga Greipssonar*. The reference to this saga occurs almost at the end of GHS, in the last chapter (XXXVIII). As in the case of the *Yngvarssaga víðfjörða* in Chapter I, the *Hrómundarsaga* is also not explicitly mentioned by name. But only this saga can be meant by the words: "Hrómundr Greipsson veitti Óláfi, sem segir i sögu

⁶ For the text of this passage, see App. III of this work, s. v. Heðinsey.

⁷ See also the passage from Keyser referred to in App. III.

⁸ *Fas.* 1830, III, p. 310, and notes.

⁹ GHS XXV.

hans." There is little doubt that the author of GHS must have known a version of the *Hrómundarsaga Greipssonar* that is substantially identical with that given in *Fas.*, vol. II (1886, pp. 325-336). The few persons named in GHS XXXVIII occur also in *Hróm. S. Greip.* in the same relations to each other and with the same names as in GHS.

So much for the nine sagas either explicitly or implicitly referred to in GHS. To these we add the *Knytlingasaga*, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, as the source of the information contained in GHS concerning England and Denmark. These ten sagas are the only ones of which we may assert that either the original author of GHS, or some later interpolator, had direct information. Correspondences, however, may be noted from time to time, and their discussion will be taken up in the remainder of this chapter, which treats of sources not found in saga literature.

The most that can be said for any of the preceding attempts to assign the material to possible or probable sources, is that it explains, or offers to explain, the origin of some single passage or trait in GHS. Far more interesting and important is a classification of the material of the saga with regard to the attitude assumed towards it by the compiler or author, in other words, with respect to the literary objects pursued in this style of composition. Before considering the subject of character-delineation and social conditions as found in GHS, a study in outline of the popular state of mind that was responsible for the production of the *Fas.* may be desirable.

In the first chapter (on the general characteristics of the *Fas.*) it was stated that there probably existed from the earliest days of Old Norse Literature, and parallel with the more conventional family sagas, a kind of saga in which the imagination as such came into its own; in which a dry rehearsal of genealogical feats of prowess, often rendered more difficult of comprehension by over-emphasis of purely local laws and customs, gave way to a simpler outline of story, in which the accidents of time and place were as far as possible eliminated, and in which were presented events of elemental character in typical forms, lacking for the most part the high degree of individuali-

zation that seems to be attainable in literature only by calling attention to special idiosyncrasies. That the latter type of saga must be more comprehensible to future ages, goes without saying. But the absence of intimate personal touches, which results from the effort to write in the grand style, is bound to be felt as a defect. The reader of GHS cannot help but feel that he has been dwelling in an exceedingly rarified atmosphere, and the general impression gained from the following analysis of contents will probably be,¹⁰ that the characters and their deeds have but little individuality.¹¹ First we shall attempt to show that this negative impression is in part due to one of the compiler's literary intentions that makes itself felt only in a negative manner.

The absolute omission of any reference to Christianity is no doubt partly responsible for the impression GHS gives us of hanging in the air, of having no solid ground to stand on. And it must be plain to the reader why the author has made no such reference. The remoteness of the story in time, its prehistoric glamor, is of course vastly enhanced by such omission. But if, in place of Christianity, some other system of ethical conduct, with its outward manifestations, were in evidence, the story would have gained much in tangibility. The difficulty about GHS is that it is shot through and through with Christian practices, but that there is no peg on which to hang them, just as it is likewise true that the story is full of superstitious remnants of the pagan past for which no unifying rule of conduct is suggested. There can likewise be little doubt that the omission of all Christian elements is intentional, when we remember how carefully the passage concerning the geography of Denmark is excerpted and rearranged,¹² and yet, in striking contrast to the corresponding chapter of *Knytlinga-saga*, all information concerning the number of churches is carefully withheld.

¹⁰ Reference to Chapter III (Synopsis) will assist in understanding the analysis.

¹¹ But this is a characteristic of genuinely heroic as well as of pseudo-heroic writings; see Vald. Vedel, *Heldenleben (Mittelalterliche Kulturideale, I)*, Leipzig 1910, p. 42 et passim.

¹² See p. 74 f.

The conventional character types are preserved with but little deviation in the *Fas.*, and in this respect GHS offers no exception. As in the other *Fas.* (and this is a trait quite distinct from the more historical family sagas), the lower classes of society do not exist in the consciousness of the writer at all. This is a further fruitful cause of the atmosphere of unreality that pervades all these sagas. These low-born wretches exist mainly for the purpose of furnishing to the hero and his fellow fighters, an opportunity for the display of prowess, and when a large number of them have been killed by a strong warrior in a short time, their mission is ended and no further notice is taken of them. Thus Hrólfr kills thirty of them while cutting his way through the mêlée to King Erik (XVIII). In short, the story is not concerned with them, but with the noble characters to whom we shall now turn our attention.

The king in GHS is not the chief character of the saga. But a legitimate king is a formidable and honorable personage. We have only to read the description of Hreggvið to be convinced of this. He is tall, strong, far-sighted, wise, a good friend and a fierce enemy; he has lost by death a most excellent wife, and he has the fairest daughter in all the world. An active past, spent in foreign parts, is behind him, and now he has settled down to spend the rest of his days in peace. On his journeys he has acquired magic weapons and a wonderful horse. But he has not always been a man of peace and his present strong position may be due in part to profitable marauding expeditions undertaken in his early days. In fact Chapter I tells us that "in his youth he harried much and subdued the lands about the Dýna." He is a type of the successful retired sea king so common in the *Fas.* and no doubt taken from life. How different is the type in its earlier stage as depicted in the person of Erik, with whom we become acquainted in the next chapter (GHS II)! Erik is still a sjákonungr, whose fleets are on the sea both summer and winter; he harries all lands; a great, strong fighter, an active leader of gigantic men, who are dangerous adversaries in any quarrel, and who know something about witchcraft (II). The

location of his home, being not so permanent as Hreggvið's, is not directly given: we learn merely that his ancestors lived in Gestrekaland, "which is subject to the king of Sweden." His method of warfare, though very efficient against the army of Hreggvið, is irregular and guerilla-like. He gives no warning of his coming and the first we hear of him is when Hreggvið's subjects come and tell their king that Erik's men are killing the inhabitants, burning their houses and stealing their cattle. (III: "drepa menn, brenna bygðir, enn raena fé," a stereotyped series of phrases of rather frequent occurrence, as will be seen below). But even the well-established rulers, when they are off on a campaign, have little consideration for the subjects of the country that is being attacked. So Jarl Þorgnýr's men, on their expedition to Garðaríki, sail up the Dýna and devastate both shores, perhaps in order to obtain food, although the main result seems to have been the obtaining of new recruits. (Herjuðu þar á bæði borð, brendu bygðir, enn raentu fé, XXVIII.) Possibly their procedure may have been more humane than that of the professional sea kings, for in connection with this incident no mention is made of their having murdered the inhabitants, which seems to have been the constant practice of the lesser adventurers. Thus the pirate and berserker Tryggvi and his foster brother Vazi, when they fall upon Denmark, burn houses, kill men, and steal all the cattle they can lay hands on (VIII: raendu bygðir, enn drapu menn, ok raendu fé öllu, er þeir náðu).

But there is honor even among the sea kings, and they are capable of keeping promises that are binding on their conduct during long periods of time. At least Ingigerð, Hreggvið's daughter, after her father is killed and the victorious Erik has decided to become a land-king in Garðaríki, his newly won possession, manages to convince Erik by means not over subtle, that it is his duty to be magnanimous and to keep his word to a girl. And indeed, Erik leaves her unmolested for years. Whether this is because he loves her, is not stated; in fact, after Erik's first declaration of affection for Ingigerð, we hear no more of his love for her. She tells him that no man may rightly be called a king if he breaks his word to a maiden. The

sea king. in the same chapter (III), admits the correctness of her view. "erði sa niðingr," he says, "er eigi heldr orð sin við yðr. þús á sömu stundu, enn ek skal veita."

A sense of morality finds its expression in the words of Ingigerð on this occasion, for she ends her declaration with the words: "fyrr enn ek gangi nauðig með nokkurum manni. Ek fyrr heldr veita mér bráðan bana; ok nýtr þessu gígninn." Of course it is not certain whether her words are motivated by aversion to Erik or not. They might also be rejected as a result of her sense of honor.

Ingigerð describes her beauty at the beginning of the story (I): "the most beautiful woman, but beyond the state of youth, that her hair is long and of a golden color, nothing is said of her personal appearance. Ingigerð fæðir hár svá mikit at vel mátti hylja allan hennar likam. Ingigerð er svá fagrt sem gull eðr halmr" (I). The beauty of Ingigerð must have been very great, or else Jarl Þorgnýr's imagination is easily excited, for it will be remembered that after he has seen but a single strand of her hair, wrapped in a silver cloth and dropped by a swallow (X), he vows that he will have her as his wife or die in the attempt. That Ingigerð's beauty is made so little of by GHS is in accord with the entire absence in this saga of the element of constant epithet. Never do we hear of the "beautiful Ingigerð," or of the "brave Hrólfr," or of the "crafty Mondull," or the "treacherous Vilhjálfr." Yet all these persons have the characteristics implied by those adjectives, although a cursory reading of the saga may not leave a clear impression of the fact.

Göngu-Hrólfr, the hero of the saga, is, as far as externals are concerned, rather definitely described; even his mental characteristics are occasionally referred to although it would be manifestly unfair to expect any very refined psychological probing in a work like GHS. After telling about his father and brothers, the saga (IV) goes on: "Hrólfr Sturlaugsson var manna mestr, bæði at digrð ok hæð, ok svá þungr, at engi hestr fekk borit hann allan dag, ok var hann því jafnan at göngu; manna var hann vaenstr at yfirlit; ekki var hann siðblendinn við alþýðu. . . ."

This hero, as characterized by the above words, is at least somewhat differentiated from the hero who is all heroism and goodness and kindness; that he was not anxious to associate with the common people is hardly Christian. While the comparison must in other respects appear ridiculous, still Hrólf's self-concentration and physical awkwardness remind us of two of the qualities of no less a character than Shakspeare's Hamlet himself.

Hrólf's relations with his father are exceedingly unconventional (IV), and the conversation in which the latter persuades Hrólf to get married and receives in return an extremely unfilial reproach for his lack of generosity, might be taken as a very good example of mutual recrimination of an unusually realistic type (IV). On the other hand, Hrólf is not only the surly and rebellious hero, but he also has moments of kindness and a feeling of solidarity with the other persons of his own rank. He recognizes in Hrafn a person of noble birth and asks jarl Þorgnýr to pardon the offenses of that nobleman on the ground of his manifest excellent origin: "Sér ek at þú hefir tígns manns augu, ok biðr ek yðr herra, at þér gefið þessum monnum grið, því at ek veit, at þeir eru mikillar aettar" (IX).

In spite of his comparatively surly disposition, Hrólf stands out nobly by comparison with some of those he meets. The contemptible Vilhjálmi is beneath notice, but the episode, brief as it is, with the pirate Jólgeir, whom Hrólf serves for a while (VI), shows that Hrólf, owing to his liberality with money is able to gain the confidence of those who happen to be his companions, so much so, that after the death of Jólgeir, they make Hrólf their chieftain. A peculiarly unchivalrous characteristic of the pirate Jólgeir, and one that receives special notice in GHS, is, that he prefers to attack civilians and merchants rather than warriors: "Jólgeirr fór illa með herskap sínum, ok raenti mest búþegna ok kaupmenn, enn herjuðu oftast um Kúrlond ok fengu oft fjár" (VI).

It is chiefly in connection with the supernatural element of this story that we shall come in contact with motives that admit of comparison with other *Fas.* and with folk-lore material.

Throughout GHS the practice of sorcery is represented as common and apparently legitimate. When something unusually incredible is narrated, the author hastens to reassure the reader: "Nú þótt mönnum þyki slíkir hlutir ótrulegir, þá verður þat þó hverr at segja, er hann hefir sét eða heyrt" (XXV). It is the fear of sorcery that enables Erik to retain possession of Garðaríki, once he has secured it: "var hann jafnan í kyrrsaeti, síðan hann kom í Garðaríki, því flestir voru ófusir at herja á hans ríki, sakir kappu þeirra er með honum voru, einkanlega sakir galdrs ok . . . kyngis Gríms aegis" (XIV).

Of all the warriors in the story who are acquainted with magic, and they are many, the most accomplished is Grímr aegir, whose nickname is probably derived from *aegir*, "the sea", because of the fact that his mother was a sea-monster. At least, some men believed this because he was able to walk both on land and on water. Moreover, we are told that he ate raw meat and drank the blood both of men and beasts. Not the least of his accomplishments was his ability to assume any shape he pleased, and with such swiftness that the change could hardly be followed (II). Grímr aegir is the only man (if this term may be used of so dreadful a creature) who succeeds at any time in the course of the story in dulling the edge of Hreggviðarnaut by magic, which the sorcerer Annis later (XXXVI) fails to do, although he does succeed in dulling all the other swords in the Danish army: "Danir urðu þess brátt varir, at þeim bitu eigi vopnin, þótt þeir hjuggu þrátt til, sem eigi voru hlífar fyrir, ok var líka sem þeir berði með lurkum, utan Hreggviðarnautr beit, sem í vatn brygði; hafði þat ok enginn deýft getað utan Grímr aegir, svá at menn vissi til þess daemi. . . ." But the power to dull the edges of swords did not belong to Grím alone; we are told that the brothers Sörkver and Brynjólf, also in the service of Erik, likewise possessed this gift. "Miklir ok sterkir voru þeir ok illir viðreignar, fjölkunnugir ok galdrfullir, at þeir deýfðu eggjar í orrostum" (II). Of these two brothers, Sörkver, who was physically the stronger, appears to have been the better wizard, for he is mentioned several times as the asso-

ciate of Grím in his villainous but successful undertakings. So when Hrólf, on the occasion of his first visit to Hreggvið's mound, passes through an awful storm on the way, a storm so violent that it uproots trees and throws them against him, he is assured apologetically by the ghost of Hreggvið that it is not Hreggvið who has raised this storm against him and all the suitors of Ingigerð who have preceded him, but that the real malefactors are Sörkver and Grímr aegir. It is clear from this that the sorcerer has some power over the forces of nature, and that this power is possessed by Sörkver as well as by Grímr aegir.

Grím is even able to endow others with powers previously not possessed by them. It is he who encourages the weak and insignificant Vilhjálmm (XXVII) to go off in search of Hrólf and to kill him, and thus to win the hand of Ingigerð for himself. Grím promises to magnify Vilhjálmm's strength, and according to the latter's own confession, hands Vilhjálmm a drink that immediately makes a strong man of him: "gaf mér einn drykk; þótti mér þá hlaupa afl í mik"; XXVII. Just why Grím should take this exceedingly roundabout method of getting at Hrólf does not appear, nor is it at all plain why he should desire Vilhjálmm to obtain the hand of Ingigerð. Perhaps the only explanation possible of this peculiar conduct on the part of Grím is that he is naturally a wicked creature, who takes delight in wicked things; of course, it might be due to a strong fellow-feeling between the wicked Grím and the equally wicked, though less capable Vilhjálmm.

Magic potions administered for various purposes are naturally a very effective element in any story dealing with the supernatural, and we are therefore not surprised to find that the potion that Grím gives Vilhjálmm is only one of many occurring in GHS. There is the inevitable love-potion of medieval legend as well as the draught that gives strength for the fight. When Mondull offers the sattarbikar (peace-cup, loving-cup) to Björn's wife Ingibjörg, the latter indignantly strikes the back of his hand from underneath, so as to force the cup and its contents into his face: "enn hun sló hendinni neðan um kerit, ok upp í andlit honum" (XXIII). By putting

thing into the drink of Jarl Þorgnýr's associates, Mǫndull takes away from them all love for Björn, and they think he must be guilty of the theft with which he is charged by Mǫndull: "Enn þegar hirðin hafði kent fyrsta rétt ok drukkit fyrsta bikar, var ǫllum horfin vinátta við Björn, ok þótti þá ǫllum sem hann mundi sannr at sök", XXIII. Whether the peculiar disease that Ingibjörg suffered from during the preceding winter, was also brought on by potions trickily administered by Mǫndull, is not stated. It is however certain that the trouble is caused by Mǫndull, but the means he uses in this particular case are not described: "Ingibjörg kona Bjarnar tók krankleika nokkurn undarlegan um vetrinn; hun gerðist ǫll blá sem hel, enn sinnaði um ǫngvann hlut, sem hun vaeri vitstola;" XXIII.

When Mǫndull desires to make good again the harm he has done Björn, he gives Ingibjörg "minnisveig at drekka", which causes all her love for Mǫndull to disappear: "ok týndi allri ást við dverginn" (XXV). A more elaborate example of a potion given to increase the strength and success of combatants is that of the two vessels handed to Hrólf by Hreggvið on the occasion of Hrólf's last visit to the mound of Hreggvið. The larger of the two vessels is for the entire army; the other, smaller one, is only for Hrólf and Stefner, and in the case of the latter two there is to be the additional effect that there will never be discord between them. Accordingly, when the men have partaken of the wonderful beverage, they forget about their wounds: those that have been most anxious to flee, now become most eager for the fray, even egging on the others: "enn þegar hverr hafði af drukkit, kendi enginn sinna sára, þótt áðr vaeri ófaerir, þegar sezt hafði með þeim; eggjuðu þeir mest, at berjast skyldi, er áðr vildu harðast flyja." In the same chapter Mǫndull speaks of this drink as "ǫl," but this conveys no real information as to its nature (CV s. v. *öl*).

The character of Mǫndull is very simple in outline, and perhaps for that very reason the motives for his conduct are so difficult to understand. At first Mǫndull intrigues against the life and family of Björn, councillor of Þorgnýr (XXIII). But his schemes are frustrated by the timely appearance of Hrólf (XXV). He immediately makes common cause with Hrólf,

going so far as to take part in the great campaign against Garðaríki, and to assist Þorgnýr's army by magic against the monsters of the sea (XXVIII) as well as against the "seið"¹³ that was being prepared for Hrólfr and Stefner (XXVIII). That the men who are to operate this seið should have been brought from Ermland, ought not to cause surprise.¹⁴ In the final battle fought in Garðaríki, Mōndull, by a number of ingenious feats and suggestions, does much to turn the tide of victory in favor of the Danes and their allies.

Then, having rendered great service to Hrólfr and Stefner, Mōndull practically forfeits all claim to their gratitude by disappearing entirely. Moreover he is suspected of having run off with Gyða, the sister of the slain king Erik: "Gyða, systir Eireks konungs, hvarf burt ór Garðaríki, ok var þat geta sumra manna, at Mōndull mundi hafa haft hana burt með sér" (XXXIV). On the whole it would seem that Mōndull plays the role of a *deus ex machina*, without whose aid some very striking transformations could scarcely have been represented as plausible, but who is discarded by the saga-writer as soon as this purpose is attained.

Perhaps the most interesting feat performed by Mōndull is that of making severed limbs grow on again. The feet (probably the legs) of Hrólfr have been cut off by the treacherous Vilhjálfr (XXIV), and are preserved by Ingigerð in life-giving herbs, that they may not die: "þat er sögn manna, at Ingigerðr konungsdóttir hafi geymt fótina ok borit hjá þau grös, er ekki mátti deyja." Later (XXV), Mōndull procures the severed members, presumably from Ingigerð, smears the joint with ointments, and orders Hrólfr to bake the stumps at the fire. After doing this that hero is able to rise and walk about and use his legs as if nothing had happened. Perhaps this belief in "life-grass", in which severed limbs could be preserved, was a wide-spread popular superstition. The same device occurs in *Egilssaga ok Ásmundar*. Egil loses his hand and Arinnefja preserves it for him in herbs, and later she heals it on again. A still closer parallel is furnished by a popular tale recorded by Rittershaus in her *Neuisländische*

¹³ See CV s. v. seið.

¹⁴ See App. III s. v. Ermland.

Volksmål (p. 74). But the story of *Rosald and Geirald*, printed in No. LII of the same collection (pp. 219-223), in spite of its close resemblance in many respects to the story of the *Volksmål*, between Hrólfr and Vilhjálfr in GHS, does not contain the motif of the severed and restored limbs.

The practices referred to in GHS are commonplaces in medieval literature. When an enemy attacks the land, or an army is raised for any purpose, the king sends around an *Oltrátt*, which is the signal for "mobilization" (*laetr hann heror udrátt*). The customs referred to in *Hjálfr ok Oltrátt* are of the customs are of foreign origin and probably continental influence that was exerted on other *Fas*. Thus the remarkable list of medieval weapons that were used at the triple wedding described in GHS XVII is paralleled by a shorter but similar enumeration in *Hjálfr ok Oltrátt*, VI, although here the instruments do not refer to a wedding: "*Leikarar slegu hörpur, gigjur, sverð, og önnur hljóðfaeri*." Add to this the mention of wines and foreign meats mentioned in GHS XXXI and it is evident that we are not in Scandinavian surroundings any longer, but rather in those of medieval continental Europe.¹⁵

¹⁵ A Middle English origin for this passage is also not impossible; it would be interesting if a specific continental or English source should turn up.

CHAPTER V

GONGU-HRÓLF AS AN HISTORICAL CHARACTER

We are in the fortunate position of being able to use the illustrious name of Thomas Carlyle as an introduction to a consideration of the purely historical Gongu-Hrólf, who is quite distinct from the person who has been thus far occasionally referred to by that name. Anything savoring of Norse influence appealed very strongly to Thomas Carlyle, the apostle of German literature and of Germanic things in general, to the English people, and we are not surprised to read, in a chapter on Harald Haarfagr,¹ the following lines, written in Carlyle's whimsical but pregnant style: "Settlement of Iceland, we say, settlement of the Faroe Islands, and, by far the notablist of all, settlement of Normandy by Rolf the Ganger (A. D. 876?).

"Rolf, son of Rögnwald, was lord of three little islets far north, near the Fjord of Folden, called the Three Vigten Islands; but his chief means of living was that of sea-robbery, which, or at least Rolf's conduct in which, Harald did not approve of. In the court of Harald, sea-robbery was strictly forbidden as between Harald's own countries, but as against foreign countries it continued to be the one profession for a gentleman; thus, I read, Harald's own chief son, King Eric that afterwards was, had been at sea in such employments ever since his twelfth year. Rolf's crime, however, was that in coming home from one of these expeditions, his crew having fallen short of victual, Rolf landed with them on the shore of Norway, and, in his strait, drove in some cattle there (a crime by law), and proceeded to kill and eat; which, in a little while, he heard that King Harald was on foot to enquire into and punish, whereupon Rolf the Ganger speedily got into his ships again, got to the coast of France with his sea-robbers, got

¹ *The early Kings of Norway; also an Essay on the Portraits of John Knox*, N. Y. 1875.

infestment² by the poor king of France in the fruitful shaggy desert which is still known as Normandy,—land of the Northmen; and there, gradually felling the forest, banking the rivers, tilling the fields, became, during the next two centuries, Wilhelmus Conquestor, the man famous to England, and momentous at this day, not to England alone, but to all the speakers of the English tongue, now spread from side to side of the world in a wonderful degree. Tancred of Hauteville and his Italian Normans, though important, too, in Italy, are not worth naming in comparison. This is a feracious earth, and the grain of mustard seed will grow to a miraculous extent in some cases.”

Carlyle could not have known, owing to the nature of his studies, to what a miraculous saga the mustard seed of a mere mention of the name “Göngu-Hrólfr” had grown under the care of the author of GHS. It will be well, however, in view of the fact that the annals of those times are exceedingly complicated, not to anticipate.

The conquest of Normandy by Rolf, for so we had better call him now that we are no longer on Scandinavian soil, cannot be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. We must rather view it, as is suggested by Carlyle above, as one step in a historical sequence that culminates, although it does not end, with the conquest of England by William of Normandy in 1066. Much has been written, especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century, on the various expeditions undertaken by Scandinavians during the five centuries or more that preceded the Norman Conquest. Before we review briefly the Viking expeditions that precede Rolf's, and consider the scant details we have of Rolf's own activities, mention must be made of the sources from which our knowledge of this subject is derived. As is well known, the actual contemporary chronicles that have anything to say about Viking attacks, are in Latin, and were written either in England, Ireland or Scotland, or else in some part of the heterogeneous domain of Charles the Great.³ More will be said of these annals in the account of

² Sic for “infeoffment” (*Century Dictionary*).

³ This does not refer to the annals of Nestor concerning the Varangians, which are in Russian, and which will be dealt with in the Chapter on Geography.



the raids and settlements. Whatever has since been written on the Viking period, especially by historians of the nineteenth century, is based on a critical study of these contemporary annals as well as other documents; this is especially true of Gustav Storm's *Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie*, written chiefly as an attack on Steenstrup's *Indledning*,⁴ and containing, in spite of its rather negative and matter-of-fact attitude, some definite data in highly condensed form. Worsaae, in his *Danske Erobring af England og Normandiet*, reviews the whole course of events down to the Norman Conquest in an entertaining as well as critical manner, although his results frequently can be confronted with more convincing statements from Storm's book; Worsaae's history is especially complete with regard to the later history of the Danes in England, during the century preceding the Norman Conquest. Unfortunately the entire earlier part of the Scandinavian campaigns, more particularly the part dealing with Rolf, has not received the attention that has been devoted to one single century of this period by C. Francis Keary in his *Vikings in Western Christendom (789-888)*.⁵ It is a careful study of the annals of all the nations concerned. Appended to it is a chronological table, containing an entry for nearly every year of the century, for which the preceding pages furnish the proof. The following account is based on Keary⁶ up to A. D. 888, except that it is amplified from Storm's *Krit. Bidr.* For events later than 888, Worsaae's book is our basis, again with amplifications from Storm, and with modifications and illustrations from the annals themselves, as will appear in the notes or in the text.

The first account of a Viking invasion of European territory is given by Gregory of Tours under the year 515 (*Gregorii Turonensis Historia Francorum* III, cap. 3), when led by Hugelc, the "Chochilaicus" of Gregory's account, "Hygelac" in *Beowulf* (lines 2354-8 in Grein), the invaders went up the

⁴ For full details of these books, see Bibliography.

⁵ Published in 1891, Keary's book had been delayed for fear Du Chaillu's *Viking Age* might cover the same ground!

⁶ It will be observed that the word Western in the title of Keary's book excludes the Varangians in Russia and Constantinople.

Meuse, where they got rich booty. But Huggleik was killed and his men were driven back to their ships by the Frankish army. This attempt apparently remained isolated and had no important consequences, for no more is heard of the Vikings for more than two centuries. When they again appeared on the continent, to make their first serious attack, great political changes had taken place in Europe, as may be seen from a study of the *Annales* of Einhard for the years 772-804. The Saxons had been converted to Christianity by Charles the Great at the point of the sword. Before the next appearance of the Vikings on the continent, we find them in the British Isles, where they begin their depredations in the year 789. The continental coast is only occasionally harassed by them (Frisia and its islands, 799 and 800).

Had the Vikings made their attacks at the beginning of the ninth century, it seems not unreasonable to believe that they might have experienced, at the hands of Charles the Great, a defeat that would have dampened the "furor Nortmannorum" to such an extent as to have discouraged them in their attempts to settle and secure a firm foothold on the continent. That wise ruler appears to have recognized the possibilities of danger from that direction. Thus, according to Einhard, we find him in the year 811 making a tour of inspection of the coast defences in West Francia, with a view to strengthening them. After the death of the Norse chief Godfred, the Vikings in the British Isles desisted from an expedition projected against the Frisian coast. The Anglo-Saxon and Irish chronicles are filled with their doings, especially in Ireland, until well into the fourth decade of the ninth century. In the year 834 the first really serious onslaught was made on the Frisian coast, resulting in the plundering, among other places, of the city of Dorstad, on the Lower Rhine, in what is now Holland. This performance was repeated in 835, in 836, and again in 837. So complete was the work of destruction that the name of the town was forgotten, although it still appears on the map in Worsaae's *Danske Erobring*.

For a few years, Christian Europe had peace from its pagan invaders; but in 843 the enemy actually wintered in France

for the first time. In 845 an attack was made on Paris by a new fleet sailing up the Seine; fortune favored the invaders and they even entered the city and began to cut down the inhabitants, when they were stopped by a dense fog, which the Christians quite naturally believed to have been sent by God and the city's patron saints. The harryings of the Vikings are not limited to Frisia and France: in 850 they spent their first winter in England (Isle of Thanet, off the Thames), their rule in Ireland having been already firmly established since the beginning of the century. A second attack on Paris was made in the winter of 856-857, and the Vikings, after having burnt several churches, were induced to leave only through the payment of a heavy ransom. During the Spring of 861, Vikings marauding along the Seine made two more attacks on Paris.⁷

To get at the little that contemporary history has to tell us concerning Rollo, it will be necessary for us to pay some attention to the great campaign against the continent which seems to have brought him conspicuously into notice. It is only towards the end of this expedition that we begin to hear of Rollo, yet, to get his historical setting, we must remember, with Munch,⁸ that the conquest of Normandy means a campaign of thirty-six years, intermittent, perhaps, but carried on by one and the same army, which may, however, have been constantly reinforced. These thirty-six years extend from 879 to 915. At the beginning of their attacks the Northmen were not led by Rollo, but by the Danish princes Sigfred and Godfred, perhaps also by Haastein. In 879 an army of Northmen gathered on the Thames. England was already Danelagh from the Eastern coast to Watling Street. This army set sail for Flanders, landing on the banks of the Scheldt, and staying there until the year 881, engaged all that time in marauding

⁷ The attacks on Paris are mentioned here to the exclusion of many notices that might be given concerning raids on other places. But the amount of annalistic material is so enormous, and the story so disjointed, that a full account of all the plunderings would be a dry catalog. The works of the continental annalists who deal with this period have all been printed in Pertz's *Monumenta Germaniae*, even those annals that were not written in Germany. The community of interests in the middle ages was not limited by the present national boundaries.

⁸ *Det norske folks historie*, I, 669.

expeditions. Occasionally pitched battles were fought with the people of the surrounding districts. So in 880 the Vikings defeated Louis, the East Frankish king and killed his son, and a little later, on the river Scheldt, they inflicted a severe defeat on the Abbot Gauzlin. Reverses, however, were also not lacking; especially noteworthy is the battle of Saulcourt, on August 3, 881, where they were vanquished by the West Frankish king, Louis III. This event inspired one of the most valuable works of Old High German Literature, the *Ludwigslied*.⁹ During the autumn of this year the Northmen withdrew from Saulcourt and the surrounding regions of Picardy and made their way into Frisia, which they subdued, after which they sailed up the Maas and wintered at Haslou. In 882 they were besieged here by the East Franconian king, Charles, who finally made peace with them, however, and permitted Godfred to rule over Frisia. In July 882 Sigfred was also bought off by Charles with a large sum of money, whereupon Sigfred left Charles' dominions and went into winter-quarters at Condatum (Condé sur l'Escaut). But his pilferings in Flanders, Picardy and Champagne still continued. In the summer of 883 the invaders settled at Amiens and in the neighboring country, staying there during the winter and summer of 884. In October of that year Carloman bought them off for the sum of 12,000 marks, to raise which it was necessary for him to tax to the utmost all the resources of the country, including the possessions of the clergy. In December of the same year the Vikings seem to have regarded all obligations as at an end, for they attacked West Franconia, then belonging to the Emperor Charles. In the summer of 885 they penetrated to the valley of the Seine, and on the 25th of July took possession of Rouen.

Another long siege of Paris by the Northmen followed, lasting from November 885 until October 886 and the invaders were persuaded to raise the siege only by the promise of money and by the permission to pass Paris and sail with their ships up the Seine and settle down in Burgundy, where they were allowed to plunder. They interrupted this occupation long enough, however, to pay a visit to Paris again in 887 to collect

⁹ Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, No. XXXVI.

the promised ransom. Their next operation was directed westward and resulted in the defeat of the Bretons, after which they returned to the Seine (890). The scene of their activity now shifted again to the East, and while besieging Louvain they were routed by the East Frankish king, Arnulf (Sept. 1, 891). During the years 893-896 nothing is heard of their depredations, for they had gone to England, not because Arnulf's victory had been followed up with sufficient energy to make their stay on the continent uncomfortable, but because the crops were bad and the West Frankish country was too poor to make plundering profitable. But they were back again in 897 and occupied their former foothold, the valley of the Seine, whence they spread once more throughout the north of France. During the closing years of the ninth and the first decade of the tenth century, we hear little of their doings, as the keeping of records seems to have become less and less customary, probably because of the general discouragement and lack of faith in the permanence of anything written, which resulted from the harryings of the invaders. Thus the *Annales Vedastini*¹⁰ end with the year 900, and give as their last entry a statement that Counts Robert, Richard and Heribert are debating what is to be done with the Northmen.¹¹ The next certain date of importance is that of the battle of Chartres (911). It is not known who was victorious in this battle, although it seems the invaders must have made a good showing, as the region about the mouth of the Seine was handed over to them. We are also told that they were baptized. This gave the Normans¹² official recognition on the continent. The few remaining dates are now given in chronological order:

910 The Norsemen devastate Brittany (Province of Cornouaille), scattering the inhabitants.

¹⁰ So named after St. Vaast near Arras, where they were written (874-900).

¹¹ All the annals dealing with the Carolingian (to 911) and the succeeding Saxon dynasty are edited in Pertz's *Monumenta* (main series, *Scriptores*, vols. 1-4, given as No. 4 under I. *Scriptores*, in the classification of Karl Jacob, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1906, p. 35).

¹² The name "Normans" seems appropriate now that they are on their own soil.

921 Count Robert, after having in vain besieged the Norsemen of the Loire for five months, grants them the possession of Brittany and takes hostages.

927 [redacted] again given to the Norsemen, whence it would appear that they had not taken possession of it on the [redacted] occasion.

931 [redacted], apparently chief of the Loire Norsemen, punishes the Bretons for rebelling against and killing his governors.

933 William, chief of the Seine Normans,¹³ does homage to King Charles and [redacted] exchange a part of Brittany.¹⁴

As the last entry mentions a [redacted] for the Seine Normans, we are already beyond Rollo's time, and must now retrace our steps to gather up what little we know of Rollo himself from the contemporary annals.

911¹⁵ The land at the mouth of the Seine is granted to the invaders, but Rollo is not mentioned.

918 In a letter of King Charles, it is recorded that the land has been handed over to the Norsemen of the Seine, with the explanation that Rollo and his men are meant.

929 Rollo mentioned as still living.

933 Before this year Rollo must have died (see 933 above).

This is all that the contemporary annals have to tell us, with the exception of the testimony of a poem that Gaston Paris published for the first time in 1870 from a Ms of the year 1000 (circa), and to which he gave the name "*Planctus super mortem Wilhelmi*." Substituting in the second half the corrections that Storm¹⁶ regards as absolutely required to make sense, we read:

Hic in orbe transmarino natus patre
in errore paganorum permanente
matre quoque consignata alma fide
sacra fuit lotus unda.

¹³ So Rollo must already have been dead.

¹⁴ The dates are according to Storm *Krit. Bidr.*, pp. 137-139.

¹⁵ After the Battle of Chartres, see above.

¹⁶ *Krit. Bidr.* 140-141.

Moriente infidele suo patre
 quos confisus Deo valde sibi ipse
 surrexerunt contra eum bellicosi
 subjugavit dextra forte.¹⁷

As this is a lament on the death of Wilhelm, these lines refer to him and the references to his father are of course to Rollo. Although it is written seventy years after the death of Rollo, this information may be regarded as derived from a contemporary source, because it shows us a living tradition concerning Rollo's origin, which may very well have persisted for so short a period. It impresses us all the more as being genuine in view of the fact that those sources which Steenstrup uses by preference, none of which are contemporary, give us no similar data. Storm has so thoroughly succeeded in discrediting the accounts of these posthumous historians,¹⁸ that it would hardly repay us here to resume their arguments. Only one of the later chroniclers, Adémar de Chabannes (as a rule wrongly named "Adémar de Chabannais," by Storm as well as by others, as is indicated in the authoritative edition by Jules Chavanon),¹⁹ presents a meagre, sober, unrheterical account which is entirely in accord with the traditions embodied in some of the sagas, to which we shall devote our attention presently. Adémar's history, written before 1030, contains several details curiously corroborating the information yielded by the *Planctus*, to the effect that Rollo remained a heathen at heart, even after baptism. So we read in one MS:

"Et factus christianus a sacerdotibus Francorum, imminente obitu in amentiam versus, christianos centum ante se decollari fecit in honore quae coluerat idolorum, et demum centum auri libras per aecclesias distribuit, Christianorum in honore veri Dei, in cuius nomine baptismum susceperat."

Beheading a hundred Christians in honor of the old gods,

¹⁷The corrections are only three in number. To save space, only the emended passage is given here.

¹⁸The dates at which these men wrote their works is an indication of their nearness to the events, and of their trustworthiness when they contradict the contemporary annals: Richer de St. Remy (995-998), Dudon de St. Quentin (1010-1020), Guillaume de Jumièges (1070-1080).

¹⁹Chavanon, p. 139.

and at the same time distributing treasure to the Christian churches in honor of his Christian baptism, certainly exhibits a curious state of mind on the part of Rollo, and strikingly confirms the testimony of the *Planctus*. Whether Rollo kept up his inconsistent course, and whether the same impartial magnanimity was displayed frequently during his rule, Adémar does not say, but that, comparatively speaking, only a few of his subjects became Christians during his life, is clear from the following quotation, which tells us that Rollo's son Willelmus, who had been baptized when very young, finally introduced the new religion after his father's death:²⁰

"Tunc Roso defuncto, filius ejus Willelmus loco ejus prae-fuit, a puericia baptizatus, omnisque eorum Normannorum, qui juxta Frantiam habitaverunt, multitudo fidem Christi suscepit, et gentilem linguam obmittens, latino sermone assuefacta est."

Now that we have considered the meagre information to be gleaned from the chroniclers contemporaneous with Rollo or nearly so, we are ready to take up the references to Gøngu-Hrólf that occur in the sagas. In doing this, however, we must exclude GHS, for excepting a few vague suggestions at the end of this chapter, this saga has absolutely no connection with the more trustworthy traditions of the older and more legitimate sagas. It is unfortunate and misleading that Möbius, in his *Verzeichniss*, should give, under "Göngu-Hrólfssaga," references to the works of Steenstrup and Storm, cited above. Whatever the controversy between those two eminent scholars has brought to light, it has contributed nothing to our knowledge of GHS. This is not to be construed as a reproach to these writers, as they were not in any way concerned with the mass of heterogeneous material found in GHS. In the single instance where Storm cites GHS, and which we shall have occasion to discuss later, he does so merely in order to explain the meaning and use of a certain word.

There exist four records, or rather, four works, of Scandinavian origin, in which there are records of Gøngu-Hrólf, as opposed to the contemporary and post-contemporary continental accounts which we have already considered. One of these four is Norwegian, the other three are Icelandic.

²⁰ Chavanon, p. 148.



The Norwegian record was entirely unknown until Munch in the year 1849 discovered the Scotch manuscript of the *Historia Norvegiae*, which Storm²¹ believes dates from about the year 1180. In an account of the countries paying tribute to Norway, mention is made of the Orkney Islands and the expeditions that set out from these. One of the Vikings living in those islands was called "Gongurolfr," because, owing to his great size, he was unable to ride a horse and therefore always went on foot. From the information contained in this MS Storm draws the following inferences concerning the historical Gongu-Hrólf, who of course is not the hero of GHS: Vikings belonging to the race of Chief Ragnvald in the time of King Harald conquered these islands near the Scotch coast, which thereupon became the starting-point for new Norwegian conquests, and about the year 900 there was very lively intercourse between these islands and the other Viking stations in England, Scotland and Ireland. Furthermore, Rodulf or Gongurolfr went to Normandy from the Scotch islands.

The *Landnámabok*, a purely Icelandic source, gives information concerning the offspring of the historical Gonguhrólf. A woman named "Nidbjörg" is mentioned as the daughter of "Bjolan" and "Kadlin" (Catherine), and Kadlin is given as the daughter of Gongu-Hrólf. This tradition clearly shows that in the Eastern part of Iceland, when *Landnáma* was composed (about the middle of the twelfth century), the Gonguhrólf who was the ancestor of the Dukes of Normandy was regarded as one of the sons of Earl Ragnvald. It was also believed that a daughter of his was already living in Scotland before he landed in Normandy.

The information which Storm draws from the Saga of the Orkney Earls is very slight and amounts to this: Before Gongu-Hrólf conquered Normandy he had already for a long time been leading the life of a Viking. Moreover he was a son of Ragnvald and a brother to the Earls of More and of the Orkneys.

Finally, there is the testimony contained in Chapter 26 of Snorri's *Ólafssaga helga*, to the effect that when still a young man, Gongu-Hrólf was banished from Norway by King Harald.

²¹ *Krit. Bidr.*, p. 169.

This is the account that Carlyle follows in the passage quoted at the beginning of the present chapter.

To Storm these sources are useful in establishing the fact that Gǫngu-Hrólf was a Norwegian, and not, as Steenstrup held, a Dane. For us, this question is of little importance. Whether the historical Gǫngu-Hrólf was a Dane or a Norwegian is of no consequence as regards the character of the hero of our saga, of whom we may safely assert that he is neither Dane nor Norwegian, but like so many heroes of the *Fornaldarsögur*, belongs to the land of fable.

We are now ready to answer the question concerning the relation between the historical Gǫngu-Hrólf and the hero of GHS. What they have in common is the name and nothing else. What strikes us as peculiar is the way in which the name itself must have been taken from one of the four Scandinavian sources given above, or from some similar source now unknown, and more striking still is the fact that the meaning of the name should have been amplified; and that then, an entirely fictitious *Fornaldarsaga* was constructed about that name. It would be analogous to this procedure if one should borrow a name from real life, assign this name to a fictitious character, and then write a novel concerning this character, without the slightest regard for the actual biography of the original possessor of the name. Nowhere in the authentic Scandinavian sources do we find any reference to the great weight of Gǫngu-Hrólf, and the reasonable inference seems to be that it was his size rather than his weight that prevented him from riding horseback and compelled him to go on foot. But the author of GHS lays more stress on the weight, for he says of Hrólf (GHS IV): "hann var manna mestr, bæði at digurð ok haeð ok svá þungr at engi hestr fekk borit hann allan dag, ok var hann því jafnan á gǫngu." Evidently the author of GHS had no use for a hero that was unable to perform deeds of prowess on horseback, and so the hero's size must not prevent him from riding; but, owing to his great weight, he cannot be on horseback all day. This heaviness does not, however, render it impossible for Hrólf to perform the knightly exploits which are so dear to the author's heart.

CHAPTER VI

GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE DISPLAYED IN THE *GÖNGU- HRÓLFSSAGA*

The list of Geographical Names in Appendix III, which is intended as a supplement to this chapter, will give an idea of the large number of places mentioned in GHS,¹ and also of the wide geographical knowledge of its author. Garðaríki is the scene of the main action, so what can be more natural than that the unusually gifted Grímr aegir should pay visits to the adjacent Jötunheim, and that King Menelaus of Tattararíki should attempt to hold Heðinsey, which lies between his kingdom and Garðaríki? But this exploitation of the popular geographical notions current in the Middle Ages, does not satisfy our author, so we also find references to many lands, from Írland to Indíaland. In fact the story is not cramped within narrow boundaries. It is noteworthy, however, that there is no mention of Vinland, the Icelandic name for that part of America known to the Norsemen. Moreover, strange to say, no word is said about Iceland, although, in accordance with the principles of composition of these fabulous sagas, that country may have been purposely omitted in order not to weaken the impression of exotic strangeness that the names of so many little-known countries must have made on the minds of the readers.

The saga begins and ends in Garðaríki, and whether that land is to be ruled by the invader Erik, or by Ingigerð, the rightful heiress to the throne, is the question at issue. It will be well to bear in mind from the very start, that the author knew practically nothing of Garðaríki, which name stands in so many sagas for the western portion of Russia. Nor are the historical sagas more explicit on this point, yet it must be from the then existing saga material that our author gets his

¹ Seventy geographical names occur in the saga.

names, for they can hardly have been more than names to him. But when the author does not have any real knowledge of Garðar, he certainly is careful to agree with his sources in the use of these names, and thus to conceal his own ignorance of the localities in question.

There were good reasons why Scandinavian writers should have known something about Garðaríki, in view of the fact that Scandinavians played such an important part in the founding of the Russian state.² According to the Russian chronicle of Nestor, the Varangians came over the sea in the year 859, and took tribute from a number of Slavonic tribes, that are specifically named. Having become tired of paying tribute to these "Varangians", they drove them, in the year 862, back over the sea. "And they began to govern themselves; and there was no justice among them, and a clan rose against clan, and there was internal strife between them, and they began to make war on each other."³ Regarding their sad plight when left to themselves, they sought for a prince who might rule them justly, and turned to the Varangians whom they had driven out,⁴ offering them the control of their land, which they said was large and rich, but without order and in sore need of a ruler. Accordingly three brothers were induced to come over with all their relatives and followers; the eldest, Rurik, settled in Novgorod, the second, Sineus, near Bielo-ozero, the third, Truvor, in Izborsk. "And the Russian land Novgorod was called after these Varangians; they are the Novgorodians of Varangian descent; previously the Novgorodians were Slavonians; but after the lapse of two years Sineus and his brother Truvor died, and Rurik assumed the government and divided the towns among his men, to one Polotsk, to another Rostov, to another Bielo-ozero." Few passages in the history of any people have occasioned a more vigorous and sometimes

² A complete résumé of the history of their settlements is given in Vilhelm Thomsen's *Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia, and the Origin of the Russian State*, Oxford, 1877.

³ V. Thomsen translates a portion of this passage of Nestor, pp. 13-14. The original passages, in Russian, with Latin translations, are given in Kruse's *Chronicon Nortmannorum Wariago-Russorum*; see Bibliography.

⁴ Or to some other Varangians, Thomsen, p. 13. The translated passage, like the original, admits of either interpretation.

even acrimonious discussion than these few words of Nestor. The matter is all the more debatable owing to the existence of several MSS. of Nestor, two of which (the so-called *Hypatian* and *Radziwill* MSS.), say that Rurik first settled at Ladoga and did not move the seat of his government to Novgorod until the death of his two brothers. Unfortunately, misdirected patriotic zeal has often interfered with the calm judgment of scholarship and has added to the difficulties of arriving at a solution of this tangled question. The controversy raging around this passage of Nestor has divided the writers of early Russian history into two camps, the "Scandinavomaniacs" and the "Russomaniacs", the latter not uninfluenced, perhaps, by motives connected with the once widespread Panslavic movement. The question at issue was, were the Varangians Scandinavians or Slavs? As was natural, the former camp split into two divisions: those who believed that the "Varangians" were Swedes pure and simple, and those who claimed that the term "Varangian" merely denoted "Teuton", without defining nationality more closely. For our purposes it will suffice to state briefly the conclusions arrived at by Thomsen, as follows: The Varangians who came to Russia in 862⁵ were Swedes, who settled, among other places, in Ladoga and Novgorod, which correspond to the Aldeigjuborg and Hólmgarðr mentioned in the GHS and in many other Icelandic sagas, historical as well as fictitious.

A glance at the map will be necessary in order to appreciate fully the peculiar route that Scandinavian, and as it seems, more especially Swedish traders followed in their voyages to Garðaríki and further on to Miklugarði, with which the name "Varangian" was later to be prominently associated. Novgorod, to begin with, if that was really the place designated in the sagas as Hólmgarðr, must not be taken as identical with the city of Nizhni-Novgorod, on the Volga, so familiar to modern readers because of its annual fairs. This is the unfortunate error to which Du Chaillu commits himself in the map

⁵ Or during a long period which culminated in that year, as Thomsen has a series of considerations pointing to the fact that the relations between Russia and the Scandinavians must have begun long before that year.

prefixes the first chapter of his *Viking Age*.⁶ Geographical considerations make it plain that it must be the other, still almost forgotten Novgorod, on the shores of Lake Ilmen, a great trade centre, and especially famous during the time of the Hanseatic League, of which it was one of the chief ports, which lies on the most feasible route of travel from Scandinavia to Constantinople. The maps in Keary's *Vikings in Western Christendom*⁷ and in Verelius' *History of Sweden*⁸ show the position of this city correctly. It is unfortunate, in this connection, that the Icelanders themselves, great as was their clerical activity in other respects, should not have left a single map that might give some indication of the extent of the travels of their kinsmen in Asia, along the Mediterranean, and through the continent of Europe to Rome, and further, to Jerusalem.⁹ A single so-called "mappemonde" does exist,¹⁰ in which the relative positions of various peoples are crudely marked by merely writing the tribal names in a juxtaposition corresponding, apparently, with their relative geographical situation, and there is also a plan of the tomb at Jerusalem, which has of course no value for the present inquiry. Assuming then, that Novgorod (or Hólmgarðr, although the identity of the two places is not undisputed, see note, p. 61) was one of the seats of Varangian government and commerce, it is difficult to see how it could have been of much utility as a seaport. This difficulty, however, is only an apparent one, as Novgorod was easily accessible from the ocean for the comparatively light vessels of the ninth and tenth centuries. The city lies on an island at the northern extremity of Lake Ilmen, where the River Volkhov drains the lake, to carry its waters to Lake Ladoga, whence the short, but very broad and deep Neva flows into the Gulf of Finland. There is little doubt that this journey was made frequently, as is indicated for example in this passage of *Ólafssaga helga*,

⁶ Vol. I, p. xx.

⁷ Frontispiece.

⁸ Vol. I, p. 46.

⁹ According to Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, I, 557, the two maps that follow are the only ones that are preserved.

¹⁰ Printed in Ant. Rus., Vol. II.

which describes an embassy to Russia undertaken by Einarr Þambarskelfi and Kalfr Árnasonr: "þeir foru um varit austr um Kjöl til Jamtlands, þá til Helsingjals, ok komu fram í Svíþjóð, réðu þar til skipa; fóru um sumarit austr í Garðaríki, komu um haustit Aldeigjuborgar. Gerðu þeir þá sendimenn upp til Hólmgarðs á fund Jarisleifs konungs, með þeim erendum, at þeir buðu Magnusi, synn Ólafs konungs hins helga, at taka við hanum ok fylgja hanum til Noregs, ok veita hanum styrk til þess, at hann fái fǫðurleifð sína, ok halda hann til konungs yfir landi" (C. 265).

From this passage the location of Aldeigjuborg also is plain. Just as Hólmgarðr is at one end of the Volkhov, namely where it leaves Lake Ilmen, so Aldeigjuborg is at the other end of the same river, where it enters the other lake, Ladoga. If the Scandinavian name of this lake was Aldeigja, not unlike Ladoga in form, the city on that lake would naturally be Aldeigjuborg (*Aldeigju*, gen. of Aldeigja, + *borg*, "city"). The etymology of both Hólmgarðr and Aldeigja¹¹ has given rise to some interesting speculations.

Although an exact parallelism, in form, between Hólmgarðr and Novgorod, cannot be drawn, the second syllable of each, here at least, undoubtedly has the same meaning.¹² It is true, however, that the word garðr is never seen in Icelandic to mean "city" except in the designation of mythical or foreign places.¹³ This fact ought to be enough to render impossible the contention, otherwise reasonable, that the Slavonic word for "city", owing to its great similarity with the Icelandic garðr, is borrowed from the latter. On the contrary, although the word garðr is good Icelandic, its use to replace the more

¹¹ That Aldeigja may have been used as the name, not only of the lake, but also of the town on it, without the generic suffix *borg*, results from the following stanza inserted in *Ólafssaga Tryggvasonar* (Heimskringla), c. 97:

Oddhriðar fór eyða	Aldeigju brauzk, oegir
(óx hrið af því) siðan	(oss numnask skil) gumna;
logfagandi laegis	(sú varð hildr) með hǫldum
land Valdamars brandi;	(harð), komt austr í Garða.

¹² Original Slavonic *or* became, in Russian, *oro*; in Church Slavonic, *ra*; this will explain Mod. Rus. *gorod* = Ch. Sl. *grad*, as below (Berneker, *Russische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1902).

¹³ Thomsen, p. 80; Koenugarðr = *Kiev*; Mikligarðr = *Constantinople*, perhaps an imitation of the Slavonic Tsarigrad = *the Emperor's town*.

customary *borg* (in *Aldeigjuborg*, for example), in foreign countries, might not improperly be assigned to a foreign influence, in this case to the language of the country in question, namely, to Russian. This foreign influence appears to be here all the more reasonable when we repeat that *garðr* in the sense of "city" is never used in Iceland (CV s. v. *Garðr*, for mythological names as well. But CV's explanation of *Garðaríki* or *Garðaveldi*, "the name being derived from the castles or strongholds which the Scandinavians erected among the Slavonic people," the name thus telling us the same tale as the Roman *castra* in England, must also be noted).

Thomsen gives two possible derivations for the first syllable of *Hólmgarðr*: *holmr* = island, the city being on an island, or *holm* = a corruption of *Ilmen*, the native name of the lake, reduced to *holm* by popular etymology, thus rendering possible the former assumption. Another, more ingenious explanation, but rather far-fetched, is that offered by Kruse in *Chronicon Nortmannorum Variago-Russorum*.¹⁴ Kruse explains *Hólmgard* as the territory included between Lakes Ladoga and Onega, "and thereabout," which he says is called an island (whence the name *Hólmgard*), because it is almost an island, being full of swamps, lakes and rivers (H. est tractus inter Lacus Ladogam et Onegam et circa, ita dictus, quia fere insula erat, paludibus, lacubus fluviisque munita). While the words "and thereabout" (et circa) permit us to include the district between lakes Ladoga and Ilmen under the designation *Hólmgarðr*, we cannot but observe that the country called by that name is shifted to the Northeast by Kruse, to a region not between the cities of *Aldeigjuborg* and *Novgorod-Hólmgarðr*, but to one on the same side of both. "*Holm*," adds Kruse, "et *gard* restant vero in nomine Russici *Cholmogori*".¹⁵

There is a general belief, which is quite old, that *Aldeigjuborg* is the same place as that which is called *Ladoga* in Rus-

¹⁴ P. 282, following Rasmussen: *De Arabum Persarumque Commercio* (Havniæ 1825), p. 15.

¹⁵ *Cholmogori* is the name Cholmogori that led Kruse and Rasmussen to this suggestion, as the town is in the province of Archangelsk, and as a town of that name lies on the Northern Dwina, as may be seen from the map included in Engelhardt's *A Russian Province of the North*, London, 1899.

sian, although the correctness of this assumption has been doubted.¹⁶ Sjögren declares *Aldeigjuborg* to be the originally Finnish *Ladoga*,¹⁷ but Kunik cites another writer (Butkow in an *Abhandlung über Aldeigjaborg* in "Sohn des Vaterlandes," 1836), who opposes this contention.¹⁸

Though they left us no maps of their travels, the Icelanders, in many sagas and other documents, have given us trustworthy information concerning the customs and habits of the people of Iceland. In view of the admirable itineraries across Germany and Italy that they have written, it is regrettable that not one written record is extant of some credible journey made by an Icelander who may have accompanied the Swedish "Varangians" in Russia. It is probable that some Icelanders did go with the Swedish merchants on these trips. The word "Vaeringjar" does occur in a number of sagas,¹⁹ but in every case it is applied as in the classical example in Chapter III of *Haraldssaga harðráða*, to those Varangians who formed the body-guard of the Byzantine emperor at Constantinople, and who were proud to count Haraldr harðráði himself among

¹⁶ Elgh (*Dissertatio de Waregia*, pp. 8-9, see Bibliography): A partibus tamen Wagriorum, adhuc stare videtur ex veteribus modo citati Helmoldi auctoritas, cujus haec sunt verba: Est autem Aldenburg ea, quae Slavica lingua Starigard hoc est antiqua civitas dicitur sita in terra Wagriorum, in occiduus partibus Baltici maris, et est terminus Slaviae. Et quia ante dixerat: Haec (Russia) etiam Chunigard dicitur, eo quod ibi sedes Hunnorum primo fuerit. Hujus metropolis civitas est Chue, exinde colligere volunt, ubi Wagriorum Abotritorum aliorumque Slavorum Reguli olim habitaverunt, esse veterem Chue, intuitu cujus, post occupatam a Slavinis Russiam, Novogardia dicta sit Novogorod. Sed quid opus fuit in tam dissitis regionibus quaerere urbem, quae isti Wagriorum Altenburg responderet, cum in ipsa Waggria adhuc habeatur urbs Novostadium sive Neustadt, quae etiam Slavice sonat Novogorod? Illa autem civitas, cujus intuitu Novogardia in Russia, dicta sit Novogorod, certe nulla alia fuit quam illa Holmgardiorum ad lacum Ladogam sita regia Aldejoborg, sive Aldeigjuborg, cujus frequens mentio fit in historicis Scandicis.

¹⁷ P. 227 of the *Mémoires*, see Bibliography under Sjögren.

¹⁸ Kunik, *Berufung*, Vol. I, p. 138. As the "Sohn des Vaterlandes" evidently stands for the "Syn Otyéchestva," a Russian daily paper, and as no files of these dailies are kept in American libraries, the article has not been accessible.

¹⁹ CV, p. 720.

their number, even making him their leader.²⁰ Perhaps the total absence in the Icelandic sagas of distinct references to the Varangians who founded the Russian empire, may be taken as an indirect proof that Thomsen's assertion that these "Varangians" were Swedes, is correct. The complementary positive proof would be expected in the Swedish accounts of the same period, but the lack of almost all contemporary documents in Sweden, both literary and historical, is notorious. Yet, in view of the fact that thousands of Arabic coins were found in Sweden, especially on the island of Gotland, and that Anglo-Saxon coins were found in Russia, and in view of the explicit testimony afforded by Swedish *bautasteins* to the effect that Swedish subjects fell in the east, in Garðaríki, we must agree with Thomsen that the Austrvegr must have been a much-frequented route. It is even possible, as Thomsen insists, that the trip along the Eastern Way may have been a much more common one than that undertaken later on by the kinsmen of these Swedes in the fruitful and more cultured lands of Western Europe. In support of this thesis, Thomsen goes so far as to say that the word *austrvegr*, which occurs so often on the *bautasteins*, is paralleled by no similar word which would indicate equal familiarity with the currents of Viking adventure in the West. Considering the precision and definiteness with which Thomsen has settled almost all the disputed points on this subject, it would almost seem unkind to call attention to the fact that this word after all does exist, at least in the plural *vestrvegir*.²¹

Before taking up other details of Russian geography, in order to be able later to test GHS by the geographical knowledge of the time, it will be well to see what this saga tells us

²⁰ Almost all the books that have been written on Varangians deal with these mercenaries (e. g., Cronholm's *Waringarne*, which gives critical accounts of the most famous "Warings," such as Finnbogi ramma, Kolsegg, Þorvaldr víðfjrla, Haraldr harðráða, etc.). The promising title "Poslyednyi Variag" (the last Varangian), is only the poetical title of an Essay on Charles XII of Sweden, by Professor Vladimir Ivanovitch Gerye in a Russian magazine (*Drevnyaya i Novaya Rossiya*, St. Petersburg, May and June, 1876).

²¹ CV s. v. *vestrvegr*, gives definition (as opposed to *austrvegr*, *suðrvegr*, *norðr-vegr*) and reference to *Bautil* 962.

concerning the route that has been outlined above, namely the commercial passage from Hólmgarðr or Novgorod on Lake Ilmen, through the Volkhov to Aldeigjuborg or Ladoga on Lake Ladoga, and then through the Neva to the Baltic. Whatever else the author of GHS may have known about Geography, and in some cases we shall show that his knowledge is worth considering, he shows no knowledge of the two cities on this route, although he frequently mentions them; he does not even give us the direction in which one lies from the other, and of the rivers he says not a word.²² Furthermore, if his style were not bare, and following the model of other older and more truthful writers, so objective as to conceal all expression of his own views on the course of the story, we should surely find it possible to trace, even in his vocabulary, signs of the nervousness with which he hastens to excuse his ignorance on the subject of the Geography of Garðaríki. Often, when we should most desire something definite concerning the journey he is describing, he says nothing of the directions, distances, or the character of the road or conveyance. Even at crucial points, early in the saga as well as toward the end of it, he fails to mention by what means Hrólfr gets from one place to another. In fact it is chiefly in connection with the movements of Hrólfr himself that the author of GHS takes the pains expressly to disavow any knowledge of the circumstances attending a trip. There is only one such instance in which he pleads ignorance that is not directly connected with Hrólfr.

In that chapter of the saga in which Hrólfr makes his first appearance, (IV), he quarrels with his father and brothers and leaves home, so secretly that "vissu menn eigi, hvat um hann leið," (IV). The next time we hear of Hrólfr we feel that he is as ignorant of his bearings as is the reader, for (VI) "hónum voru vegir ókunnigr", but we have been already told that he had started his journey in Hringaríki, not far from the present southern extremity of the boundary line between Sweden and Norway, that he passed chiefly through forests and uninhabited places and finally directed his steps up

²² Volkhov, Neva. But GHS mentions the Dýna; see p. 66 ff. and the alphabetical list of Geographical Names (App. III).

towards Sweden by way of the Eiðuskog (stefnir hann svá austr í Eiðuskog, ok aetlaði upp í Svíaríki). This forest was large and Hrólf lost his way, and was in it for a long time, until one evening (eitt kveld), he found Atli Ótryggsson's house. A few days after he had killed Atli Ótryggsson in self-defence, he had the encounter with eleven men in a clearing in the woods (einn dag kom hann fram í eitt rjóðr, ok sá þar ellifu menn alvopnaða).²³ Although it was not easy to find one's way through the forest, travelers seem to have used it frequently in passing from Norway to Sweden and vice versa. Hrólf concludes that the eleven men he has killed must have come from Vermaland, either to hunt or in search of Atli (Svá þótti hönun, sem þeir menn mundu verit hafa ór Vermalandi ok farit at jaga dyr, eðr um eptirleit við Atla). Perhaps it is due to the influence of the dim and fabulous East that the clearness and exactness of the account decrease as we move eastward, beginning already in Sweden (fór hann þá leiðar sinnar, er ok ekki sagt frá ferðum hans, fyrr enn hann kom fram í Gautland við Gautelfi). Up to the present we have the impression that the author knows his geography. Hrólf's progress thus far has been through a country concerning which the author has information either through reading or by word of mouth. And during the remainder of Hrólf's journey, until he reaches Denmark, the writer also seems to know the lay of the land. This is clear from the fact that Hrólf's trip to Jótland, terminating "skamt frá borg Þorgnýs jarls," is made by ship, showing appreciation of the relative position of Denmark and the Scandinavian peninsula.

The few things that Hrólf does on the Scandinavian peninsula are all performed in places that the author gives us in their proper geographical setting. Jólgeir's ship, in which Hrólf is to sail, has a captain who is from Silgisdalr in Svíaríki.²⁴ While the ship is moored somewhere on the coast of Kúrland,²⁴ Hrólf has the altercation with Jólgeirr that terminates in the latter's death. We are also informed how long it took to make this trip, and we hear of the return to Den-

²³ For these events of Chapter VI it may be well to refer to the *Synopsis* of GHS in Chapter III of this work.

²⁴ See App. III, Geographical Names.

Skýlst hann þar við fræða fund
farið er sógunne valla
þvi skal gylldan golnes mund
górpum nýann spialla.

There he parts from the find of knowledge,
hardly is the story justice done.
Therefore a new song
shall be sung of the heroes.

It is only fair to Mr. Þórðarson, who made the copy of which the succeeding stanzas are an excerpt, to state that he is not responsible for the chaotic condition of the orthography. When Mr. Þórðarson made the copy of all the rímur in the MS. he was under the impression, as was the author of this volume, that the entire MS would be printed under his supervision, in Europe, and that constant reference to the original MS would be possible while the work was going through the press. In other words, a collation of the copy with the original, that now would involve correspondence and long delays, would then have proceeded simply as a matter of course. But the copy given here will give a very good idea of what is in the Gǫngu-Hrólf's Rímur.

AUNNUR GÖNGU-HRÓLFS RÝMA

I

Hjer skal renna af raddar þey
rögnis flaustur biartre meý
fange härs að fremia meður
fyrða ef það nockurn gleður.

Here to a fair maiden poetry shall start in,
from the silence of the voice
dealing with a man,
if it please any one.

2

Skalldenn vanda Mannsóng mest
meýstarliga í fræðum best

gieffst þeim þesse gafann hreyn
af græðara heýms í hyggín stein.

Poets take the greatest pains with
the Mansóng, in the best works;
this good fortune is given
by the healer of the world to their intellect.

3

rausn og megn og raðeð greytt
Aðrer hliota megn eða matt
maleð sniallt eða vysku hatt
riett er slýkt aff drottne veitt.

Others receive might and strength
eloquence and great wisdom;
magnificence, power and ready counsel,
truly such is bestowed by the Lord.

4

Heýðnum riett sem christnum kann
kongur himna þetta vann
forðum veýta nær sem nu
er nýta hielldu óngua tru.

To pagans just as to Christians
heaven's King these things
of yore as now did grant
to those who thought no faith needed.

5

Voru marger mecktar menn
menta rýker forðum senn
þeir sem gýrantust frægð að fá
folldu lýffs og dauðer a.

Many reputable men there were
highly learned in days of old,
those who desired to win fame
on earth or else die.



6

Hýrtu eý þo þrautenn þróngr
þreýngde lýfe hórð eða lóngr
fyrða stude frægða val
flíott aff einum greyna skal.

Care not though a hard task
impel your life hard or long;
great renown supported the men;
swiftly of one shall (I) relate.

7

Aður fiell þar oðurinn niður
yta Hrolffur barðist viður
felleð recke frægðarmann
furðu moður var orðinn hann.

Before, the ode ceased there
where Hrolf fought the men;
the warrior slew a famous man
rather weary had he become.

8

Kuffe Atla kastar hann þa
kongson gjorðe þetta að tia
optar skal eg ecke hier
íllsku slýka hlíota aff þier.

Then he casts off Atli's cowl
and this the prince spoke:
again I shall not
such mischief get from thee.

9

Settist niður og sarenn batt
sýðan tok að ganga hratt
moður næsta mörkum a
marga daga var ute þa.

Sat down and dressed his wounds
and then took to fast walking;

very tired, for many days
he was houseless in the wilderness.

10

Næfrum spentur niotur stalz
næsta sier og bak vm halz
klungur og hamra kongson rann
kappa öngua finnur hann.

The warrior clad in birch-bark
next to him and round his neck;
crag and rocks he ran over
and finds no man.

11

Fullann manuð for nu villt
fær hann ey a leyðum stýllt
þvi næst dro til býgða bratt
batnar vm ä nochurn hatt.

A full month he now went astray
and is unable to control his course;
then he rapidly drew near habitation,
matters now improve somewhat.

12

þvi næst finnur breyða braut
býgðar lýstur mínckar praut
elfe Gauta að kom framm
eirn sa fliota dælugamm.

Thereupon he finds a broad road
bright with dwellings, lessens trials;
he came to the Elb of the Gauts
and saw a ship floating.

13

þar var brýggia a land vpp lögð
lýðer munu þar kunna brögð
við enda hennar effidist glæður
ytum heýlsar kappenn skiaður.

There a bridge was joined to land;
 there, it seems that folks know tricks;
 at its end a fire burned;
 the dangerous warrior greets the men.

14

Hóldar spurðu að heýte þegn
 Hrolfur ansar slyku gieg
 Styganda ma kienna kall
 kappenn suarar og eýkur spiall.
 Men asked the man his name.
 Hrolf answers to such
 "Styganda you may call the churl"
 the warrior replies and adds to speech.

15

Huor a að raða auldu ál
 ærið mun sä fær við stal
 Jölgeýr neffndu nadda við
 nær vill aungum bíaða frið.
 Who is it manages the ship,
 quite able with the sword may he be;
 Jölgeýr they called the man,
 nigh no one will he spare.

16

I Sýllings dölum ætt hans er
 allt hið sanna greýnum vier
 honum mun gott að Hrolfur kuoð
 heyður að þiggia og luta oð.
 In Syllings dales is his ancestry
 all truth do we relate;
 to serve him replied Hrolf
 may be good and bring honor.

17

Illur er hann og otrur með
 ytar feingu þetta tieð

beserks hefur hann bol að sia
býta eingenn jarnenn a.

Wicked is he and treacherous too,
this the men did say ;
the body of a savage has he it seems,
no iron can bite him.

Attatýe hefur hann hier
holda tuenna nu með sier
oss hefur nauðgað aullum til
að auka með sier vópnaspil.

Twice eighty men has he here
at this time with himself ;
he has forced us all
to swell his fighting strength.

Alluel skiemta ýtar mier
ansar Hrolfur og burtu fer
vt a skeýð sa ýta vinnur
epter þetta Jölgeýr finnur.

Quite well do you amuse me
replied Hrolf and departs ;
he goes aboard, the men being willing,
and thereupon finds Jölgeýr.

Kongson heýlsar Rauða a
kýnia digur er hann að sia
hylmer spurðe að heýte kund
hinn sem geymde falska lund.

The prince greets the rascal,
very stout did he appear ;
the churl who keeps a crooked mind,
asks the prince's name.

21

Sagðe hann honum sem holdar heýt
 hier næst mællte kiempann teýt
 eg vil ga með yður i lið
 ætla og hier goðan sið.

He told him his name;
 then the bold warrior spoke
 "I wish to enlist with you,
 such I consider a good plan."

22

Eingenn lýst mier þöcke a pier
 þo þu vilier fylgia mier
 ef ecke sparer illsku verk
 oss ma fylgia kiempann sterk.

It seems to me no cause for thanks
 though you wish to follow me;
 if you do not spare evil deeds
 the strong warrior may follow us.

23

Þessu jatar þeyngilz uið
 þvi næst gieck með honum i lið
 hielldu sýðan a glamma grund
 garpar þegar i samre stund.

This the man accepts
 and thereupon joins his troops;
 then the same hour the warriors
 went forth campaigning.

24

Halurenn tok að heria þa
 haðe marga randa ga
 kauðenn rænte kurska þioð
 kugaðe aff þeim margann sioð.

The chieftain then took to harrying,
 many a battle did he wage;

the rascal plundered the Kursk nation;
from them he extracted great treasures.

25

Illa for með hernað helldur
huorcke dāð nie sæmder velldur
bændur ræna og kaupmenn kann
kynge fullur illsku mann.

Rather cruelly did he carry on war,
neither valour nor honor rules;
peasants and merchants rob
the man full of wickedness can.

26

Hrolfe var eý vm soddann sið
seggium veýter eý þar til lið
varð því ecke vingan goð
veýtt aff Jölgeýr hiornarioð.

Hrolf did not like such conduct
and does not assist in that;
therefore there was not good friendship
accorded the prince by Jölgeýr.

27

Þotte Hrolfur latur og leýður
i lundu fār og sialldan greýður
hann kom alldri i randa rig
þa reckar þurfftu að veria sig.

He thought Hrolf lazy and odious
sluggish and seldom willing;
he never came to battle
when the men needed to defend themselves.

28

Lyðsmenn aller loffðungs kund
leýffðu þratt aff katre lund
þagu aff honum goss og gull
giorðist með þeim vingan full.

All the comrades, in spite of that,
bore the prince gladly;
accepted from him goods and gold;
between them ripened full friendship.

29

Seggjum þannenn sumarið leið
sýna fa þeir hlaðna skeyð
ætlað sýðan hallda heim
halurenn með þann dýra seim.

Thus the men passed the summer
and get their ship laden;
then intends to go homeward
the man with that precious treasure.

30

Eitt sinn var su ötlun giorð
atte Hrolfur að hallda vorð
a lande þar sem lau þeir
lýða sueyt og hirttu geýr.

One time a plan was designed.
Hrolf was to keep watch
on land where they lay;
the troops and the leader.

31

Loksins tok að lýða a nott
lamde vm veðreð yfrið vott
Hrolfur for að huyla sig
hefur so bokinn fræddann mig.

At last night came,
the weather raged violently.
Hrolf went to rest himself,
thus the book has informed me.

32

Kapu veffur vm höffuð hann
huorge aðra betre fann

Vefreyu sege eg vænann naut
vellalundurinn þar með hraut.

The coat he wraps around his head,
nowhere did he find a better one,
the good Vefreyunaut I say,
there upon the warrior snored.

33

Jölgeyr vaknar morne með
misiaffnt haffðe stundum gieð
klæddist skiott og kom a land
kundinn hiellt a nócktum brand.

Jölgeyr awakes at morn;
uneven at times was his mood,
dressed quickly and came ashore,
the rascal held a naked sword.

34

Kemur þar að sem kongson la
kýnia reyður var hann þa
höggur offan a miðjann mann
i miðiu hýgst að sneýða hann.

Comes to the place where lay the prince,
rather angry was he then;
strikes on the middle of the man,
in two he has in mind to cut him.

35

Kongsýne hlýffðe kapann þar
kund að eige broddurinn skar
holld og beyn sem horffðist a
Hrolfur gorðe að vakna þa.

There the coat protected the prince
so that the rascals sword did not cut
flesh and bone as seemed likely;
then Hrolf did awake.

36

Vuða teinn i annað sinn
 aulans reyðde hóndinn stinn
 hýgst að snýða hóffuðið braut
 hardla skiott aff randa gaut.

The sword a second time
 the boor's strong hand raised ;
 he has in mind to hew the head
 very swiftly off the man.

37

Kongson þa a kauðann hliop
 kynge fra eg hann mestan glop
 af mýklu affle a mote þreyf
 af mylldings arffa klæðinn reyf.

The prince then ran on the rascal,
 I describe him the biggest baboon ;
 with great strength he grappled
 and tore off the man's clothes.

38

Geingust þeir með grimmleik að
 garpa sueytinn horffðe a það
 skackaðe eingenn skatna leik
 skreffaðist býða folldinn bleik.

They wrestled ferociously,
 the band of warriors looked on,
 none meddled with the game of the heroes ;
 in many places the bleak earth shook.

39

Berserk þesse trýllast tekur
 týggja arffann vǵða hrekur
 þartil holdar hriota í kaff
 hamre einum burtu aff.

This savage becomes furious
 and drives the prince here and there

92

until both men plunge
off a crag.

40

ýmser vrðu vnder þa
ero þeir komner lande fra
dreýngium hiell við druckna mest
dugðe huor sem kunne best.

Alternately would they then be under;
now they have come out from the shore;
the heroes guarded most against drowning,
each one lasted the best he could.

41

Langa stundu vm laxamið
liekust þannenn garpar við
vns að leyð að lande þar
lóffðungs arffinn stendur þar.

A long time for a winning turn
the warriors thus played,
until at last they neared land;
the prince now there stands.

42

Jölgeyr eige naðe niður
nu tok honum að leykast miður
haus i lýnda Hrolfur greyp
höfðuðið færðe i karffa sueyp.

Jölgeyr did not reach to the bottom,
now he began to be less pleased;
Hrolf seizes him around the waist
and brought his head under water.

43

Geyspa tok sa glymde ver
gaurenn hlaut að druckna hier
logs so skylde lýða fund
loddarinn hitte dauða stund.

He who wrestled worse took to yawning,
the rascal was bound to drown here;
finally the meeting of the men ended thus:
that the scoundrel met his hour of death.

44

Söck þar niður til grunna grier
gramson þegar að landi fer
stýrður næsta stolltarmann
aff stundu talar við lyðe hann.

Sank there to the bottom.
The prince goes to the shore,
very stiff the hero,
forthwith speaks with the men.

45

Þier munuð vilja þiona mier
þannenn talaðe vellagrier
launa mier so liðsemd þa
leyste eg ýður anauð fra.

You probably want to serve me,
thus the warrior spoke;
and so reward my assistance
in liberating you from the oppression.

46

Aller jata einum munn
ætt hans var þeim sýðan kunn
meinge og skeýðer millding fieck
mun honum verða frægðinn þeck

All accept with one accord,
his ancestry was then known to them.
A throng of warriors and silver the prince got;
fame, we may believe, will be kind to him.

47

Görpum veytte grævis eim
geýmer hialma höndum tueim

94

Jolgeýrs sparðe ecke auð
ýtum þotte horffinn nauð.

The warrior gave out the gain
to the men with both hands;
he did not spare Jolgeýr's wealth;
the men felt oppression vanished.

48

Hrolfur hiełt ä havahöłł
og haðe marga randa göłł
eingenn stoð við oddafrey
ýta kænska i vopna þey.

Hrolf directed his course to sea
and waged many a battle;
no one's skill could hold out
against the warrior in a combat.

49

Jaffnann sigur og sæmder hlaut
suerða viður i huorre þraut
aff ýtum fieck hann fiar
vte þannenn sumarið går.

Always victory and fame
the warrior won in every trial;
from the men he got property;
thus the summer passed.

50

Þa rieð hætta hiorffa vind
hitter gullz a sigluhind
arffe Sturlugs auðnu frekur
epter þetta Jutland tekur.

Then decided to stop sailing
on the ship the finder of gold;
the son of Sturlug in good luck
after that arrives in Jutland.

51

Þar ríð firir Þorgnýr jall
 þannenn greyner vína spíall
 kurt og heydur af kongum bar
 katur og ör vit garpa var.

There ruled earl Þorgnýr
 so the ditty relates;
 in courtesy and honor he excelled other kings,
 cheerful and liberal with men was he.

52

Styllers arffenn Steffner hiet
 stalinn vöðva brotna liet
 finst þar ecke frægre dreýngur
 framm í list og soma geingur.

The king's son's name was Steffner,
 far and wide he let the swords break;
 a more famed hero is not found there,
 preeminent is he in skill and honor.

53

Sa var hýlmer harla rýkur
 huorge fanst þa annar slýkur
 aður lyffðe af æskuskeyð
 ellenn röckte hiörffa meið.

That king was very rich;
 nowhere was there another such to be found;
 already he had lived off his youth
 and was in the twilight of old age.

54

Biörn skal neffna buðlungz mann
 bragning iaffnan trvskap vann
 syðar kemur hann soguna við
 sa var kiænn við randa klíð.

Biörn shall be named the king's man
 who always served the king faithfully;

later he comes to the story,
skilled was he in war.

55

Hrolfur so sem hermer spiall
hitta giorðe rykann jall
ætt og heýte inte bratt
auðling tok því varla fatt.

Hrolf as the report goes
did meet the rich earl;
ancestry and name he quickly made known;
this the king took not with indifference.

56

Sæmd og heyður siola biður
sueiger stalz og randaviður
vyser skýllde veria lónd
vollugum gieck hann jarle ä hónd.

Honor and respect offers to the king
the warrior and hero,
in order to protect the lands
he subordinates himself to the earl.

57

Kastala helldur kiempenn tru
með jarle var hann i kjarleik nu
aunguan atte aufundar mann
arffe kongz i stylers vann.

The true hero holds the castle;
now he was greatly loved by the earl;
none was there who bore him a grudge;
the prince worked to the earl's success.

58

Steffner fra eg og stylers nið
sterkann kjarleýk bundust við
frömdu margann fleýna slag
festu sýðan bræðralag.

Steffner, I say, and the prince
 became bound by strong love;
 many a battle they waged,
 then joined in a fraternal affinity.

Leyð so framm hið fyrsta ár
 fylcker þionar kappenn har
 allt til það að efdist stýr
 aff ilsku þyðe jallrinn spir.
 Thus passed the first year;
 the tall warrior serves the earl
 right until there rose a stir;
 the earl hears of a nefarious band.

Sa hiet Tryggue tiorua grier
 trýlldann haffðe kappenn her
 Suenskur var hann að allre ætt
 oss hefur þannenn bokinn frætt.
 That man's name was Tryggue;
 a furious army the warrior had;
 a Swede he was by all his ancestry,
 thus the book has informed us.

Annar með honum aulinn var
 ecke fra eg hann skarte þar
 Vase hinn ille vomurinn hiet
 vörða marga stuta liet.
 Another scoundrel was with him,
 I call him not good looking,
 Vase the evil was the boor's name;
 many a man he killed.

Tigge haffðe Trýggua feður
 tæmdann lýffe í fleyna veður

það vill heffna kýngekall
krapplundaður vit þorgnýr jall.

The earl had Tryggva's father
killed in a battle;
this the crafty churl wants to avenge
pugnaciously on earl þorgnýr.

63

Brende hann vǵða brugnings hauður
bragna deýðer rænist auður
þeir sem suerðið syniar fallz
socktu traust til þorgnýrs jallz.

Far and wide he burned the earl's lands,
kills men and plunders property;
those who are concerned
place their trust in earl þorgnýr.

64

Bio þa jarlenn bragna lið
bysla skiott i randa klið
stolltum fylgia Steffner og Hrolff
stæltann baru vindakolf.

Then the earl makes ready his army
very quickly for the battle,
the proud Steffner and Hrolf they follow
bearing the haughty standards.

65

Bræður þegar buenn er þioð
brognum hielldu i randa gioð
berserkia eý biluðu hót
braðliga komu þeir i mot.

The brothers when the army is ready
lead it into battle;
the savages' threats did not weaken;
swiftly they are coming against them.



Flæðar essum fundust a
fyrðar huover aðra sia
tyrs skal þannenn tanna lóg
tæma og geýma börnum mióg.

They met on some islands;
the men see each other;
thus the divine laws shall be dented,
emptied and preserved for the children.

APPENDIX I

THE VOCABULARY AND STYLE OF GHS

Concerning the vocabulary of GHS, two widely divergent opinions have been by scholars of the highest authority, at an interval of half a century. The earlier opinion is that of C. C. Rafn, who regarded the style as unusually pure.¹ The later is that of E. Mogk, who regards the foreign influence as evident not only in motivation, but also in vocabulary.² An examination of the vocabulary discloses a large number of unmistakable foreign words, and of others that may be foreign, all of which have been collected in a list to accompany this appendix. An inspection of this list shows that a large proportion of these words comes from Ch. XXXVII, especially that part devoted to the marriage feast.⁴ Here we meet with a number of courtly terms for which classical Icelandic has of course no equivalent. On the other hand such common words borrowed from the Latin, as "náttúra" (which occurs in the Preface to the *Snorra Edda*, in the *Njála*, and other well known works), call for no special notice as signs of foreign influence. A few proper names are also foreign in form, and therefore also appear in the list, e. g., Dulcifal, Vilhjálmr. Attention is called to the term "loan translation", introduced in connection with the word "hofmaðr".³ CV=*Cleasby and Vigfusson*, and "solus" means that the only quotation given in CV is from GHS, although the references in that book are only to *Fas* III (first edition, of course), by page.

¹ *Ant. rus.* I, 223f. (1850) Du reste la saga de Gaungu-Rolf se distingue par un langage très pur et par une certaine habileté dans la conception du plan.

² *Grundriss*, II, 849, 1903) . . . die Saga, die nicht nur in den Motiven den Geist der Ritterdichtung, . . . sondern auch in dem Wortschatz stark den fremdländischen Einfluss zeigt.

⁴ The prevalence of the present participle in several of the sentences of this description of the wedding must also be taken as a purely foreign mannerism, probably a Latin influence.

³ Fritz Mauthner, *Die Sprache*, Frankfurt a. M., 1906, p. 53.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF WORDS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN IN
GÖNGU-HRÓLFSSAGA

- buðkr**, *box for herbs and balsams*, Ger. böttich, only in cpd. smyrslabuðkr XXXV. Cpd. solus CV 572.
- burgeiss**, Fr. bourgeois, but originally of Teutonic origin, from burg; only in plur. burgeysar XXVII. Solus CV 86.
- burtreið**, *tournament*, cpd. of burt, Fr. bohourt, *Chaucer* bord.
- burtstong**, *lance used in tournament*, see burtreið.
- dromedarius**, only in gen. pl. dromedariorum I, not in CV.
- Dulcifal**, passim. Gröndal (Formáli) and Jónsson (p. 802) have noted similarity with Bucephalus.
- figúra**, tala í figúru, XXV.
- greifi**, XXXVII, Ger. graf. This ON form, as well as the Middle Engl. grefe, are from MLG greve, according to Weigand 1909.
- haeverskr**, Ger. höfisch, from MHG hovesch, acc. to CV. Only in nom. pl. haeverskir XXXVII.
- hofmaðr**, only in nom. pl. hofmenn XXXVII. If from MHG hofman, this use of hof and maðr in cpd. would be an excellent example of loan-translation.
- jungfrú**, XXXVII. Not a loan-translation, but probably direct from MHG juncfrouwe or from a corresponding MLG form.
- junker**, only in nom. pl. junkerar XXXVII. MLG junker.
- jurt**, only in dat. pl. jurtum XXXVII. *Root, spice*, from OHG wurz. J for w, as v cannot be sounded in ON before u. The ON word later became urt.
- kastali**, passim. Lat. castellum.
- kista**, XXIII. Like "chest", the Engl. equivalent, from Lat. cista.
- kistill**, in acc. pl. kistla XXI. Diminutive of kista, q. v.
- klaret**, XXXVII.
- konstr**, from Ger. *kunst* in the sense of device, trick, or Old Frisian *konst*. Solus CV 350.
- kuklaraskapr**, Intr. to C (see MSS). *Jugglery, deception*. From some older form of Ger. gaukel, which in turn from Lat. ioculari. CV cites Eddic kukl.

kurteyss, V, kurteisust (superlative) I. OF courtois.

léo, I, lion. Lat. leo; there is also a more naturalized form ON ljón, which does not occur in GHS.

meistari, I, XXV. Lat. magister or OHG meistari, MHG meisteri, which also from Lat. (Weigand 1910).

Menelauss, frequently in XVII.

náttúra, passim.

páfugl, only in dat. pl. páfuglum, XXXVIII. Not from HG, as initial was there already shifted, but from Lat. pāvō or AS pea, pawa; all originally Lat.

piment, XXXVII, a *spice*. MHG pimente. Low Lat. pigmentum.

pípa, only in nom. pl. pípur XXXVII. From the Lat. perhaps through the Fr.

réttr, XXXVII, and in the example CV 495 II: "en er hirðin hafði kent fyrsta rétt", which is also from GHS. CV's assumption that it really means "what is reached," seems less reasonable than "what is prepared, made right" (from rétta, like Ger. Gericht from richten); or, loan-word from Gericht.

riddari, dat. pl. riddurum XXX, acc. pl. riddara XXXIII, in cpd. riddaralið XXX. In the sense of Ger. Ritter as well as Reiter. Most -ari nouns are foreign; this undoubtedly Ger.

salterium, XXXVII, a *musical instrument*, CV. Greek ψαλτηριον.

simphon, XXXVII, a *musical instrument*. Lat. symphonia.

skarlatsbunaði, XXV, *dressed in scarlet*. In CV, skarlat is given as foreign. Weigand 1910 gives a MHG variant scharlat (scharlach) from Low Lat. scarlatum.

Vilhjálmr, passim.

APPENDIX II

PARALLEL PASSAGES OF GHS AND KNYTLINGASAGA

(On the Geography of Denmark. For discussion see p. 72.)

Knytlingasaga	Göngu-Hrólfs saga
(Chapter 32 complete; Frá Landsskipan í Danmörk)	(Conclusion of Chapter 37)

3. Danmörk er mikit ríki, ok liggr mjök sundrlaust; hinn mesti hlutr Danmerkr heitir Jótland, þat liggr hit syðra með hafinu; þar er hinn synzti biskupsstóll í Danmörk í Heiðabae, ok er í þeim biskupsdóm hálftr fjórða hundrat kirkna, en 100 ok 30 skipa konúngi. Annarr biskupsstóll er á Jótlandi, þar er heitir í Rípum, í því biskupsríki eru 4 kirkjur ok 20 ok 300, en 11 tígir skipa konúngi til rítboðs. Þriði biskupsstóll er á Jótlandi, er heitir í Árósi, í því biskupsríki eru 200 kirkna ok 10, en konúngi 9 tígir skipa. Fjórði biskupsstóll er á Jótlandi, er heitir á Vébjörgum, í því biskupsríki eru 200 kirkna ok 50, en konúngi 100 skipa. Limafjörðr heitir á Jótlandi, þat er mikill fjörðr, hann gengr af útnorðri til suðrs; ur norðanverðum Limafirði er

37. . . . Stefni var gefit jarlsnafn yfir alt Jótland, ok sat hann oftast í Rípum. Danmörk er mjök sundrlaus, ok er þar Jótland mestr hluti ríkis. þat liggr et syðra með hafinu;*

I Jótlandi eru margir hofuðstaðir;
syðst í Heiðabae,
annarr í rípum,

þriði í Árósi,

fjórði í Vébjörgum; þar taka Danir konung sinn.

Limafjörðr er á Jótlandi; hann gengr af norðri til suðrs, enn í innanverðum firðinum gengr

* See note on next page.

mjótt eið vestr til hafs, er heitir Haraldseið, þar lét Haraldr konúgr Sigurðarson draga yfir skip sín, þá er hann komst undan Sveini konúgi. Fyrir vestan Limafjörð er þat ríki, er heitir Vendelsskagi, ok víkr til Norðraettar, þar er hinn 5ti biskupsstóll í Danmörk í þeim stað er heitir í Jorungi; í því biskupsríki eru 100 kirkna ok 60 kirkna, en fimm tígir skipa konúgi. ¹Jótlandssiða heitir allt vestan frá Vendilsskaga ok suðr til Rípa. Millum Jótlands ok Fjóns gengr Meðalfararsund. Á Fjóni er hinn 6ti biskupsstóll í Danmörk í Óðinsey; í því biskupsríki eru 300 kirkna, en 10 tígir skipa konúgi. Milli Fjóns ok Sjólands gengr Beltissund. Í Sjólandi er hinn 7di biskupsstóll í Danmörk í Róiskeldu; í Sjólands biskupsdaemi eru 400 ok 11 kirkjur, en 100 ok 20 skip konungi. Fyrir norðan Eyrarsund liggir Skáney ok Halland. Á Skáney er erkibiskupsstóll í Lundi, sá er hinn 8di biskupsstóll í Danmörk; í því biskupsdaemi er hálf fjórða 100 kirkna ok 3 kirkjur, en hálf annat 100 skipa konúgi; sá

Haraldseið vestr til hafsins; þar lét Haraldr konungr Sigurðarson draga yfir skip sín, þá hann fór undan ófriði Sveins konungs. Fyrir vestan Limafjörð liggir Vandilsskagi; honum víkr til norðraettar; í Jorungi er þar hqfuðstaðr.

¹Jótlandssiða er kqlluð vestan frá hafinu, norðan af Vandilsskaga ok suðr til Rípa. Milli Jótlands ok Fjóna gengr inn Alfasund. Á Fjóni er hqfuðstaðr í Óðinsey.

Milli Fjóna ok Sjólands gengr Beltissund. Í Sjólandi er hqfuðstaðr í Róiskeldu.

Fyrir norðan Sjóland gengr inn Eyrarsund ok þar fyrir norðan Skáney;

þar er hqfuðstaðr í Lundum.

¹This is the only passage in the GHS excerpt that is not borrowed in the correct (i. e., original) order. It is here given, not in the place in which it is found in GHS, but opposite the corresponding passage in Knytl.

er biskupsstóll ríkastr í Danmörk. Millum þessara landa Jótlands ok Skáni liggja mörg stór eylönd, þau er eigi eru áðr nefnd. Sámsey er undir Árósbiskup. Hlésey undir Vébjarga biskup; þær liggja vestr frá Fjóni. Álsey er undir Heiðabae. Lálánd, Erri Þjórslundr, Álsey Langalánd: þessar 5 eyjar eru undir biskup á Fjóni. Mön ok Falstr eru undir biskup á Sjólandi. Borgundarholmr liggr austr í hafit frá Skáney; þat er mikit ríki ok liggr undir biskup á Skáney; þar eru 12 konungsbú ok 14 kirkjur. Þessi lönd, er nu voru nefnd, liggja undir Danakonung, ok eru þau baeði við ok fjölmenn. Voru þessi lönd at fornu margra konunga ríki.

Milli Jótlands ok Skáneyjar liggja mörg stór eylönd; þar er Sámsey, Álsey, Lálánd, Langalánd;

Borgundarholmr liggr austr í hafit.

Höfðu Skjöldungar í þenna tíma þetta ríki, enn þó höfðu aðrir konungar ok jarlar ekki minna ríki at ráða enn þeir í Danmörk, þótt Skjöldungar þærri þærri tign fyrir sakir nafns ok aettar.

APPENDIX III

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ALL GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES OCCURRING IN *Göngu-Hrólfsaga*

Many of these names occur only in the description of I mark in GHS XXXVII, and are therefore borrowed from *Knytl.* (see App. II); this fact is indicated by the letter *Knytl.* after the name. In the case of the more important names, such as those, for instance, that enter into the discussion in the chapter on Geography, reference is made to the pages where they are treated. Where E. Magnusson has listed the same names in the 6th vol. of the *Saga Librar.* (*Heimskringla*, vol. IV, London, 1905), that fact is emphasized by the letters *Salib.* The anglicized name used by Magnusson will be found in Index II of *Salib.* All the geographical names occurring in GHS are given here, but not all the references to them in the saga are recorded, many being unilluminative and unessential. Page references are to the present work unless otherwise stated. Roman numbers are GHS chapters unless otherwise indicated.

Aldeigjuborg, pp. 59-61, XIII, XXX.

The name occurs only twice in GHS, in spite of Liljegren's assertion: "Ibland andra orter uti detta rike (Holmgard) förekommer i synnerhet Jarlsätet Aldejoborg ganska ofta uti våra sagor", which is quite true, however, for the *Saga af Halfdani Eysteinsyni*, extracts from c. 2, 6-7, 11, and 15 of which, concerning this city and that of Aluborg (q. v.), are reprinted in *Ant. rus. Salib.* Aldeigia.

Alfasund, *Knytl.*

Ålsey, *Knytl.*

Aluborg, XXXIV, i Jötunheimum. See Aldeigjuborg. Not the Alaborg of *Salib* (in Denm.).

Áróf, XXXIV. That the author knew it was possible to sail

from Garðaríki to Denmark without leaving the ship, is shown by the words: léttu eigi fyrr, enn þeir komu til Danmerkr í Áróð. *SaLib*: Riveroyce 2.

Asatun, XXXVI: Asatun norðr frá Kanaskogum; but the *Knytl.*, whence this probably comes, has: Asatun norðr frá Danaskogum.

Austrríki, I. *SaLib*: Eastlands, East-realm, Eastway, East-countries. See Tattararíki.

Austrvegr, VI, same as Austrríki (q. v.): aetlar hann nú í hernað í Austrveg.

Beltissund, *Knytl.*

Borgundarholmr, *Knytl.* *SaLib*: Borgund-holm.

Brandfurðaborg, XXXVII, also Brandifurða XXXV.

Danmørk, XXXVII, from *Knytl.* See App. II. *SaLib*: Denmark.

Dungalsbaer XXXV.

Dýna, I, XXVIII. Not the Dwina of *SaLib*.

Eiðuskog VI, *SaLib*: Eidshaw, Eidwood. See p. 64; also Lilj. 233f.

England XXXVII: er kallat gagnauðigast land af Vestrlöndum því þar er blásinn allr málmr, ok þar fellr hveiti ok vín, ok allskonar saeði má þar hafa; eru þar ok klaeði gerð ok margháttaðir vefir meir enn í öðrum stöðum. Lundúnaborg er þar höfuðstaðr ok Kantaraberg, þar er Skarðaborg ok Helsingjaborg, Víncestr ok margir aðrir staðir ok borgir, er hér eru eigi nefndir. See Vestrland. *SaLib*: England.

Ermland III, XXXVIII. See p. 72. As it was a remote portion of Garðaríki, the inhabitants were reputed to practice witchcraft.

Eyrarsund, *Knytl.*

Fenidi, not in either printed ed. of Fas. Lilj. (p. 137), undoubtedly following a Stockholm Ms., has, "Jöt-Ulf Her-mader, en stark kämpe, ättad ur Fenidi," which he annotates p. 263. GHS XXX gives the name of the man as Ali, but not the place-name.

Fjón, *Knytl.*

flaemskr IX. Hrafn and Krákr declare themselves to be

"flaemskir at ætt." The corresponding noun *Frisland* does not occur.

Frisland IX. *SaLib*: Frisland. Villhj.'s false story: son jarls eins or Frislandi, ok varð ek þáttan landfríkit var svíkit undan mér af sjálfum landum (XIV)."

Garðaríki, passim, esp. I and XXXVIII. *SaLib*: Garthartha. It is noteworthy that the author of GHS mentions the people as such, and therefore never has occasion to use the adjective *gerzkr*.

Gautland við Gautelfi VI. *SaLib*: Gautland, Gautelf.

Gestrekaland II. Þat liggir undir Svíakonung. See Svíþ.

Haraldseið, Knyttl.

Heðinsey XVII. See p. 69. "Svá er sagt, at milli Garðaríki liggir ey ein, er Heðinsey heitir; hún er eitt jarlaríki. Þá er fróðra manna sagn, at Heðinn konungr Hjarandason tæki fyrst land við þá ey, er hann sigldi til Danmerkr a Indíalandi; ok þáttan tók eyin af honum nafn síttan." For Heðinn Hjarandason see *Skaldskaparmál*, c. 49. Heðinsey in *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II* (*Völsungakviða* in forn), 23. Heðinn's trip from Serkland to Denmark (Serkland = Indíaland) is represented as having been instigated by the sorceress Gøndull in *Sǫrla þáttur* (= Heðins saga ok Høgna), Fas. vol. I, c. VI, but nowhere in the saga is an island mentioned. See Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, Vol. I, p. 554, for a conjecture as to the meaning of Serkland.

Heiðabae, Knyttl.

Helsingjaborg, see England. It is hard to believe that there was a town of that name in England. Helsingjaland (*SaLib*: Helsingland) and its inhabitants the Helsingjar (CV) are elsewhere always associated with Sweden. Neither of these two names is found in GHS.

Hlésey II. Of Þórðr: var kallaðr Hléseyjarskalli, mikill ok sterkr; hann var ættaðr ór Hléseyju í Danmörku. The island has ocean tides: Gróa völvu hafði fundit hann í flæðarmáli í Hlésey.

Hólmgarðaríki I. *SaLib*: Holmgarth. Used in Ch. I as synonymous with Garðaríki.

- Hólmgarðr** XXXVIII. See Garðaríki and p. 71.
- Hringaríki** IV: í Noregi. *SaLib*: Ringrealm.
- Indíaland** XVII. See quotation under Heðinsey.
- Írland** IV. *SaLib*: Ireland. See Chapter IV (Sources I) under *Sturlaugssaga starfsama*.
- Jörung**, *Knytl*.
- Jötunheim** XXXVIII, see p. 72.
- Kanaskógr**, see Asatun.
- Kúrland**, see p. 71.
- Láland**, *Knytl*.
- Langaland**, *Knytl*.
- Limafjörðr**, *Knytl*.
- Lindisey** XXXV. In the opinion of GHS, an island off the English coast. See p. 27.
- Lund**, *Knytl*.
- Lundúnaborg**, see quotation under England.
- Móraði** XXXV, in Scotland.
- Norðrland** XXXVII. All the luxuries to be found in the "North" were provided for the marriage-feast. *SaLib*: Northlands, North Countries.
- Noregr**, see Hringaríki. *SaLib*: Norway.
- Óðinsey**, *Knytl*.
- Rípum**, *Knytl*.
- Róiskeld**, *Knytl*.
- Sámsey**, *Knytl*.
- Skáney**, *Knytl*.
- Sjáland**, *Knytl*.
- Skarðaborg**, see quotation under England.
- Skotland** XXXV: an ally of England; at the end of the battle described in XXXVI, *Skotar ok Englismenn* are put to flight.
- Svíaríki** VI. *SaLib*: Sweden. But why might not the appellation *Svíþjóð* hin mikla eða hin kalda be considered simply as a recognition of the fact that Swedes (Varangians) ruled Garðaríki (see p. 56), instead of assuming, as Magnusson does, that the word is merely a corruption of Scythia? *Sviakonung* II. See Gautland, Gestrekaland, Sylgisdal, Tíundaland, Vermaland. Of these, only Gaut-

land receives special notice: þar eru menn sterkir ok þurslegir, harðir ok illir viðreignar ok fjölkunnigir (II).

Svíþjóð XXVIII. See Svíaríki.

Sylgisdal VI: í Svíaríki. Lilj., p. 234.

Tattararíki XVII. See p. 69. Just preceding the passage quoted under Heðinsey, we read: Tattararíki er eitt kallat mest ok gullauðgast í Austrríki. Þar eru menn storir ok sterkir ok harðir til bardaga. Undir Menelaus konung lágu margir konungar ok mikilsháttar menn. The adjective denoting the people occurs three times in XVIII, which is rather striking in view of what has been said on this point under Garðaríki, q. v. They are not more closely characterized, however, and when their king is killed, take to flight, as other nations do in the sagas. It is peculiar that the name of this fabulous people did not tempt the author of GHS to make literary material of their qualities.

Tíundaland, not in *Fas.*, but Lilj., in his translation of Ch. VIII (Lilj., p. 36), adds after the first mention of Wase (Vazi), "och denne var ättboren i Tíundaland i Svea Rike." *SaLib*: Tenthland.

Vermaland VI. Hrólfr surmises that the men he has killed came from Vermaland on a hunt or in search of Atli Ótryggsson. See p. 64. *SaLib*: Vermland.

Vestrland, see quotation under England. *SeLib*: Westlands. Apparently never meaning more than the British Isles; therefore, in the quotation under England, that country is said to be the most prosperous *in the British Isles*.

Vandilsskagi, *Knytl.*

Vébjörg, *Knytl.*

Víncestr XXXV. Apparently a capital: ok hafði atsetu í borg þeirri, er V. heitir. XXXVI: Foru þeir Haraldr nú til Víncestuborgar, . . . var hann nú til konungs tekinn yfir alt þat ríki, sem faðir hans hafði átt. See quotation under England. *SaLib*: Winchester. Petersen (p. 9): Víncestr, der i den fabelagtige Saga (GHS), ringere kunde det ikke vaere, gjøres til en Hovedstad.

Vindland XXVIII, a strong ally of Jarl Þorgnýr. *SaLib*: Wendland.

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